

FORUM

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Mobilizing The Teachers

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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NO. 236

After a Year of War

WE STILL DO NOT KNOW when these words are being written whether Hitler intends to try his invasion of Britain this year or not. If he cannot reduce the British to submission before November he faces an extremely unpleasant winter on the continent, with British night bombers harrying German cities and military centres and with the whole population suffering from food shortage. At the moment there seems no likelihood that he can defeat Britain within this time limit. But he has won astounding victories — Poland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and finally France all brought under German dominion; south-eastern Europe under a German control that can be disputed only by Russia; the British life-line in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea threatened and under attack. And in the Far East Japan, taking advantage of the European situation, proceeds to eliminate the white man, or at least the French and English, even if she as yet hesitates to challenge the Americans. Can this German hold of the continent of Europe be shaken? If it cannot, a fundamental redistribution of power will have taken place in the world, whether Britain survives with her empire in Africa and the Near East or not. America prepares to face the new situation by organising for the first time an effective union of the western hemisphere states. The real issue of the war is the question of what these new supernational organisations of political power are going to be and of how the balance of power will be distributed among them.

A New Balance of Power

LIVING AS WE DO in an age when great shifts of power are taking place we are more conscious now than we were before 1914 or even in 1919 of the fact that all politics is power politics. If democracy is to survive in Europe it will not be through a restoration of the nationalistic anarchy of little states with parliamentary forms of govern-

ment which it was the British interest to support all through the nineteenth century and which Anglo-American idealists established in 1919 under the thin camouflage of the League of Nations. Modern technological developments have made the economic and military power of great states more overwhelming than it ever was before. The only hope for European democracy is a Europe (or a western Europe) unified by a democratic revolution under the inspiration and leadership of the British Labor party. The *New Statesman* in England is talking about this revolution now, and British Labor has shown a surprising vitality and creative capacity since May. But it has a long way to go before it can head a European revolution. And in the meantime all that emerges from the chaos of 1940 is the redivision of the world among these great supernational aggregations of power. Whether they can establish peaceful relations among themselves is something about which no one at present can pronounce. All that we can be sure of is that these new giants will use their power like giants and not like League of Nations idealists. In the process of establishing and consolidating their power they will all have supplanted private capitalism by some form of state socialism, which may be called communism or fascism or newdealism or just plain democracy. With socialised and controlled internal economy they will of course carry on their foreign trade by barter arrangements with one another. In such a world the cries of nineteenth century liberals for "individual enterprise," "free trade," and such things will be uttered in an unintelligible language.

The Churchill Government

HOW BIG A CHANGE has the prime minister-ship of Mr. Churchill and the entry of Labor into the British government really made? Undoubtedly new energy has been infused into most branches of British war activity, and the effect of this is shown in a new spirit of hopefulness in the country at large. But our Canadian papers and the

C.B.C., in giving us the kind of propaganda on this theme which they think will be good for our morale, are treating us as if we had the mentality of readers of fairy tales. There are still plenty of unpleasant facts in the British situation which make one doubtful. The inadequate budget of Kingsley Wood is one of them. The presence of such appeasers as Hoare in the embassy at Madrid, Craigie at Tokyo and Lothian at Washington is another. And after a year of war the unemployment figures are still large. There is also the blundering treatment of Ireland and India. The King-Hall newsletter of July 26 had some interesting notes on the British cabinet, which we think are worth reproducing in part:

"The centre of the political scene is occupied by Winston . . . The Labor party always liked Winston, who is a journalist and a bricklayer, among other things, and has never been accused of being a business man . . . Kingsley Wood's appointment to the Chancellorship was regarded on all sides as naked party politics . . . Of the big boys in the Labor party who hold office, Attlee and Greenwood have easily become respectable Treasury Benchers; they read out all the right answers at the right time. Morrison has not made any substantial difference for good or evil at the ministry of supply, where the civil service machine continues to function in an orderly manner . . . A. V. Alexander has yet to show whether or not he is *de facto* First Lord . . . The two B's are—after the prime minister—the most interesting and go-getting members of the government. Big Boss Bevan at the ministry of labor is living up to his reputation as a husky man who produces results, and Beaverbrook at the ministry of aircraft production is go-getting and brick-dropping. The Beaver is reputed to run his ministry as if it were the *Daily Express* about to go to press . . . Duff Cooper and his colleague, Harold Nicolson, have brought the ministry of information to life, but it is felt that their eyes and ears are too much in clubs and not enough in pubs. The ministry is a bit too precious. Intestinal when it ought to be gutty. This is a rough, tough war. Jehovah Anderson slipped up over his special courts bill, but he has been forgiven. He is an able, upright and humane official. Reith (transport) and Malcolm MacDonald (health) are busy in their departments. Out of sight, out of mind . . . Hugh Dalton, that kindly man, looks very fierce, and we suppose him to be starving our enemies and late-friends. But as he rendered an account of his tricks at the ministry of economic warfare in secret session, he remains mysterious and slightly sinister . . . The House has easily adapted itself to the unprecedented situation of functioning without

an official opposition, and collectively has shown a great sense of responsibility in these critical days."

Washington-Ottawa Axis

THE JOINT DEFENSE BOARD set up by the American and Canadian governments marks a new development that would have shocked all the good imperialists who took us into the war last September to defend the sacred British cause but that is now accepted by everybody. We assume that the negotiations which led to this result were initiated by the Roosevelt government. For the project must first have been broached when the King government was still afraid to buy a lead pencil for war purposes without authorization from London. But the planning of a joint defense scheme for the two North American countries marks the culmination of a series of events in Ottawa which began apparently this spring with a Canadian declaration of independence by Mr. Howe. The immediate effort of Mr. Churchill and all the semi-official English commentators to make the agreement look like the entry of the United States into closer relations with the British Commonwealth, i.e., with Great Britain, will not deceive anyone except possibly the English themselves. This is an agreement to defend North America. It is obviously based on the possibility, contemplated by both parties to it, of the elimination of Great Britain as a great power.

From the American point of view, when one considers it in conjunction with the scheme of leasing British islands as American naval bases, it marks the end of a long chapter in American diplomacy in which the Americans have been gradually pushing Great Britain out of the western hemisphere; the retirement of British power from the Caribbean and the separate American building of the Panama Canal were earlier sections in this chapter. We ourselves do not feel particularly alarmed at the likelihood of these new naval bases ever needing to be used against a Nazi invasion from across the Atlantic. The new Washington-Ottawa axis is more likely to come into action on the Pacific front. In the Pacific area of operations British Columbia is on the direct route to Japan and Russia, and the American fleet is the only major armed force that Canada (and Australia and New Zealand) can count on in an emergency.

Havana

LAST MONTH we expressed considerable skepticism about the prospects of any effective united action being taken by the twenty-one

republics at the Pan-American conference in Havana. But after starting badly the conference seems to have ended in a remarkable success. The grandiose Washington scheme for buying up all the export surpluses of the Latin American countries in order to save them from German economic-political pressure was quietly dropped by the Americans themselves. In its place a more modest scheme of economic coöperation was adopted which some commentators call vague and some call flexible. The most important decision was that which fixed the method by which the American powers jointly or a single power among them can take action to prevent the transference of existing European possessions in the western hemisphere to any new European owner. A single American power, i.e. the U.S.A., may act alone "if the necessity for emergency action be deemed so urgent as to make it impossible to await action of the committee (of twenty-one)." The United States is apparently ready to assist Latin American states financially in solving their economic problems, and they are ready to accept its assistance in dealing with internal Nazi movements.

There is one feature about these Pan-American conferences which has always puzzled us. We hear a great deal about Nazi intrigues to sabotage American leadership. But the leader of the opposition to the United States is almost invariably Argentina, and it is notorious that it is not in the Argentine that Nazi influences are most thoroughly rooted among the Latin American states. But the Argentine has always been the centre of British influences in South America. British investments and British markets have made the Argentine what it is. Is there some connection between this fact and the role played by Argentinian diplomatists in Pan-American politics? But of course the union of hearts between Great Britain and the United States (see the *New York Times* or *Herald Tribune*) would make such a thing impossible.

Unemployment Insurance

THE MOST REMARKABLE FEATURE of the recent parliamentary session was the ease with which the unemployment insurance measure went through. After years of discussion by constitutional pundits about the question of what the British parliament might do when requested by the Canadian parliament to pass an amendment to the B. N. A. Act which was not approved by everyone in Canada, the Westminster authorities refused to look beyond the two Houses at Ottawa for the authentic voice of Canada, and thus we get our constitution amended by what is practically an act

of the federal parliament. Furthermore after years of opposition by employers and the best people and after years of insincere manoeuvring by both the old parties the measure went through with practically no effective opposition. Why this overwhelming unanimity? Great Britain has had unemployment insurance for almost thirty years, and all our professed devotion to the British way of doing things never led us to consider the project at all. Then the United States went in for it, and immediately unemployment insurance became practical politics. In the five years since it was started by the Roosevelt New Deal the American social security system has built up a body of nearly 64 million accounts, has paid nearly three billion dollars to customers and has accumulated reserves of 3½ billion. Mr. Bennett's scheme came just too soon in 1935 for the effect of the American example to have made itself felt upon our national consciousness. If you want to know whether Canada will guarantee collective bargaining by national action, watch what happens to the N.L.R.B. south of the line. (In Britain collective bargaining has been the accepted practice for two generations.) If you want to know whether we will embark upon public housing on a large scale watch the housing administration in Washington. If you want to know whether our federal government will give financial help to education watch what they are starting to do in the U. S. A. And so ad infinitum. It doesn't matter whether we produce a Roosevelt or not. We can get on quite satisfactorily with Kings and Hansons. Our imitative capacity is our highest form of statesmanship.

The Ottawa Front

CHARACTERISTICALLY MR. KING kept the announcement of the most important step taken by his government since the war started—the Canadian-American joint defense board—until parliament had adjourned and couldn't ask him any questions about it. Since the war started in earnest last May our Canadian government does seem to have gone through a pretty far-reaching transformation. Most notable has been the cleaning out of the defence department and the loosening of the stranglehold which the permanent officials had upon it. A good many of the appointments to different official positions have been surprisingly good. But there are also such sinister incidents as the outrageous LaFleche appointment, and the efforts of the censorship people to prevent newspapers from printing news, such as that about Houde, that they think wouldn't be good for Canadians to read.

North American Front

Frank H. Underhill

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT carried Canada into the European war last September presumably to emphasize and strengthen our close ties with Great Britain. In less than a year the progress of the war has led them to make a defense agreement with the United States which, however much polite phrases may seek to hide the fact, constitutes a recognition that our ultimate vital interest is the defense of North America and that this interest must be pursued in coöperation with our North American neighbor. This is an ironical situation, though our nerves are too strained just now for us to be able to enjoy the irony of history; and our colonials are doing their best to put a good face on the business by making it appear that the Roosevelt-King agreement really represents a joint determination by Canadians and Americans to come to the help of Great Britain. But it is obvious that the agreement would have been superfluous had not Canadian statesmen recognized that a profound change in the balance of power across the Atlantic and across the Pacific is in process as the result of a year of war.

Actually, we have been drifting towards a reorientation of our external policy in the direction of closer relations with the United States for a long time. But Canadian opinion has been slow to recognize the fact because our thinking has been preconditioned in the direction of Great Britain.

Sentimentally, the whole *raison d'être* of Canada has been hostility to the United States. The United Empire Loyalist tradition has colored all our thinking. Since 1815 we have lived through more than a century of peace with friction, but the friction has generally been more in the forefront of our consciousness than the peace which we were inclined to take for granted. On the other hand, remaining in the British empire, we have managed to achieve without much friction a position of autonomy that satisfied most of us and predisposed us to think kindly of the British connection and to glorify British statesmanship. Most important of all in its effect upon our prevailing sentiment, our long effort to distinguish ourselves, to separate ourselves off from the Americans naturally led us to emphasize the British character of our civilization. Lacking any very distinct national consciousness we fled to the British connection as the readiest escape from Americanism. We found a quiet British dignity in our own life as contrasted with that to the south of the border, when more realistic critics discerned only an anemic lack of vitality. Escape mechanisms of this kind are of course inevitable when a small and comparatively

weak people live next door to a powerful and expansive nation.

More fundamental in determining this anti-American emphasis in our thinking was the fact that the Dominion of Canada represented an ambitious attempt to build up an economic empire independent of New York. Our banks, our railroads, our protected manufactures, were all expressions of this determination. Confederation in fact was primarily a movement to pre-empt the northern half of North America, to fence it off from American intrusion, and to develop it as a closed economic system the profits and the power from which should accrue to business interests north of the border. And these interests found it useful in establishing their position to instill anti-American feelings into the Canadian mind. Such feelings were a bond of union in a new nation in which there was for a long time not much real material basis of union; and in addition they were a powerful assistance to Montreal and Toronto in consolidating their control of the new nation. Under their leadership we got the habit of girding up our loins about once every twenty years and saving ourselves once more from the United States. Nothing is more interesting to the sociologist studying Canada than the thumping success of the anti-reciprocity elections of 1891 and 1911; and nothing can be more significant of some change that was coming about in our communal consciousness than the failure of an anti-reciprocity election to take place in the 1930's.

In addition to this influence was another economic factor. When the Dominion of Canada at last began to go ahead in the late 1890's after almost a generation of depression, it was the development of the wheat-growing west which produced the boom; and this was based upon a seemingly illimitable market in Great Britain. The growth of the British market, as contrasted with the failure of the American market to expand in a similar way, put an end to all the annexation sentiments that had plagued Canadian politics. Moreover the rapid expansion of the Canadian economy in the twentieth century depended upon imports of capital, and down to 1914 these came predominantly from London.

But in the period between the two great wars all these conditions which determined the direction of our thinking were beginning to change. The sentiment of colonial loyalty was being challenged by a new spirit of native nationalism, though down to the present the two sentiments have been able to co-exist in the most curious combinations in most Canadian minds. But as nationalism became more self-conscious more and more Canadians began to realize that socially and culturally they

resembled Americans rather than Englishmen, and that in their day-to-day life they got on more naturally with Americans than with Englishmen. What most of all united them with the Americans and distinguished them from everybody else was the common North American standard of living. True, the citizens of Ontario did not use quite as many Bell telephones per thousand as did the citizens of California nor consume quite as many gallons of ice cream per head per year as did the citizens of Iowa; but essentially it was a common standard of living. And a good many Canadians began to realise that if they were to remain distinct from the Americans this could only be achieved through a dynamic native Canadianism and not through the vestigial remains of British elements in Canadian life.

Canadian business also became more and more interlocked with American. After 1918 the capital from outside which came in to develop Canadian industry came chiefly from New York. The fluctuations of Wall St. prices became the barometer of Canadian business conditions. It has been amusing in recent weeks to watch the fevered efforts of our patriotic (i. e. pro-British and anti-American) newspaper editors as they grew virtuously indignant at Mr. Mooney in the S. E. P. and at the same time tried to hide the fact that he is a high official in the General Motors corporation which so completely owns the Oshawa concern that separate financial statements of General Motors of Canada are not published; or as they grew still more virtuously indignant at Mr. Ford and skilfully failed to mention that the B shares in Ford of Canada, which are the only voting shares, are largely controlled by the Ford family of Dearborn, Michigan.

Canadian trade also began in the 1930's to take new directions. What brought Canada out of the depths of the depression was the development of the Laurentian shield in the central provinces, and its forest and mineral products went chiefly to the United States. (The war is temporarily taking some of its minerals to Britain now.) The wheat-growing West which depends on the British and European market has never come out of the depression. After the war the part of Canada which will have flourished most will be the now highly industrialised centre with its American standards, which will dominate Dominion policy even more than it does now and which in every respect will regard British industry, seeking to recover lost markets, only as a rival.

But it is chiefly the shock of the war since May 10 which has revealed to us how predominantly North American our interests have come to be. As long as Great Britain remained as the ruler of

a great world empire, a great world power whose position could not be successfully challenged, all these other developments inside Canada would have produced their effect only very slowly. British prestige dominated our thinking and it was impolitic for any Canadian to doubt in public whether British policy was automatically right since it had so long been automatically successful. But now, whatever the outcome of the battle of Britain—and we are recovering from the exaggerated pessimism produced by the sudden collapse of France—it is clear that a new balance of power is being created in the world in which Britain will never recover her pre-1914 predominance. The British Empire was based upon a defiance of regionalism. Now there are arising the dim forms of new regional aggregations, super-national continental empires of some kind, which seem likely to divide the world among them. And in this new regional balance of power Canada's security will be found in the geographical region to which she belongs.

Salt Marsh

Octopus-sprawls from tight-mud cliffs
held in strained root-hands of pine
to flat rumbling, rain-pitted sea
this half-caste child of shore and brine.

Twisted grey-slimed channels snake
through sedge-thick borders, silt, reeds,
bleary with grated leaves, spent foam
of distant rock-strong creeks, churned weeds

tide-forced back winding gulleets. Clouds
crumble suddenly, rampant sun
strides the color-roused salt marsh. Black-
threaded green pines, cliffs' grey-dun

back spread of rusty tuft-topped reeds
running bent-spined from low sea-gale.
Salt-grey knot-jointed grasses writhe
hissing queer echoes of waves' tales.

Mud-green crabs scuttle sideways—in—out—
slit-caved burrows. A flung-string clutter
of washed weed shines—orange wire—on rush tops,
marsh buttercups' flat yellow. Strayed bees' mutter

sounds in sea-pinks, purple-red clover
bordering white shells' sparkle on dark sand.

*Strange bitter beauty lies over the salt marsh
strange bitter beauty of mixed-blooded children
part but not one with sea or land.*

ANNE MARRIOTT

Political Trends in B.C.

Harrison Brown

IN THE SPRING of 1940 human affairs went into a nose dive. True, war had been declared six months earlier, true also that for at least five years the moderately alert-minded in all countries had been checking off milestones on the road to destruction. But once the first shock of declaration was over, the early stages of the war seemed to bring less, not more tension. Instead of ricocheting from crisis to crisis, from Spain to Austria to Munich, the wishful-thinking democracies were encouraged to cruise along in an atmosphere of confetti raids, lulled by the soporific, "Time is our Ally." Then came Norway, dive-bombers, Churchill. Finally the laconic but, if true, stupendous announcement from London—"Whatever happens the old order has gone for ever."

If that description is at all accurate for other parts it must be freely enlarged to form a true picture of British Columbia. Even news of the betrayal of France, by men whom the latest papers from England were still holding up for hero-worship, was received in many sections as just another gloomy bedtime story.

The great mass of the Rockies seems to serve Canada's westernmost Province much as the Channel has served England, in the sense that both physical barriers act as conditioning media to intercept acute appreciation of events beyond them. But whereas the British Isles are small and teeming, B. C. is enormous, and the most thinly populated of Canadian Provinces. Four times larger than the United Kingdom it contains less people than Montreal or Manchester. Vancouver is a big city, half as large as Toronto. But it lies 3,000 miles from Ottawa and is therefore not half as important politically. Subconsciously at least this geographical complex operates throughout the Province. Specifically it reduces interest in federal elections far below that which is taken in provincial affairs.

All this may help to explain the difficulty in thinking back to the federal election, still more in assessing its results. That the war influenced those results is certain, but the tendency in some quarters to ascribe them to "war hysteria" is exaggerated. Those who have witnessed outbreaks of real mass emotion will remain sceptical of this explanation. For that matter all those in search of alibis are doomed to fare badly, for, upon examination, their most plausible reasons will be found reduced to the most unflattering of excuses, with timidity and cupidity predominating.

Few would maintain that Messrs. Gerry McGeer or Ian Mackenzie have done anything to make the Province proud of them. To no greater degree has Mr. Mackenzie King earned the affection of the far west. In such perennial controversies as railroad freight rates his sympathies have seemed, as always, to be with the larger exploiters; towards the tariff on Californian potatoes he has proved indifferent, in the matter of the Alaska road he has been unhelpful. Finally during successive international crises he allied himself with Chamberlain, wholeheartedly endorsing and emulating the British Prime Minister's subsidizing of Fascist aggression up to the outbreak of war, and approving his fatal do-nothing policy afterwards.

There was indeed no excuse for war hysteria in March 1940. What is there about either King or his Chamberlain to generate emotion in the most passionate breast? But Mr. King would be returned for certain, it was believed. And Mr. King would have great war contracts to distribute. Mr. King, also, had assumed dictatorial powers and "Labor," it was rumored, was about to be "suppressed". It was vaguely unsafe to talk, in smaller communities it scarcely seemed safe to vote if your views were known to be critical.

Whether designed to that purpose or not this atmosphere of malaise worked in the elections, though on the whole to a less degree than might have been expected. Only now, however, after six months have passed, can the devastating effect upon all later Government claims for sympathy and coöperation be seen. Thus, as C.C.F. speakers predicted during the campaign, the Government has created for itself a vicious circle. Having adopted from the first the same methods as the Fascist enemy, it soon found itself obliged to intensify those methods. And as the distinction between Nazism and Canadian "democracy" narrows, so does the distrust of Government increase. Had Ottawa wished to confirm all that its opponents have said of it as the tool of wealth and privilege, it could have thought up no better way than its fantastic revival, by Section 21 of the Defence of Canada Regulations, of the feudal system of lettres de cachet as a means of punishing crimes of opinion.

In March, however, factors already referred to prevented realization of these things. It was not an election of which local patriots could be proud, nor, upon reflection, could any party feel much encouraged. In general the result was negative and the members returned are not truly representa-

tive of the Province. Above all, the fact that about a quarter of the electorate abstained from voting shows that, here too, the cancer at the heart of capitalist democracy is operative.

Approximately 362,000 voters went to the polls in B. C. Of this number, in round figures, 136,000 voted Liberal, 111,000 Conservative, and 102,000 for the C. C. F. But in only one constituency in which there were more than two contestants was a candidate elected with a clear majority. It is generally conceded that in many ridings proportional representation would have altered the picture entirely.

In other words the Liberal Party, with a well-oiled machine, unlimited money and patronage in its favor, would still not attract anything like a majority of the electorate. The Conservatives increased their percentage of the total vote by some 5% over 1935, which would seem to confirm reports that the number of old people in the province is rapidly on the increase. As for the C. C. F. it just about held its own. While the movement as a whole increased its membership in the Federal house from seven to eight, the province lost one of its two previous representatives at Ottawa. This loss was not made easier to take by the fact that the member who failed to return, Grant MacNeil, was generally considered to be one of Parliament's few outstanding figures.

Although the figures show that the C. C. F. has more supporters in the Province than ever before, the Party's percentage of the total vote dropped by about 4%. It is this drop which is ascribed to wartime conditions, both officially by the movement itself and unofficially by its opponents. Writing in the *Vancouver Daily Province* soon after the elections, Mr. Reece Hague warned that "for either Liberals or Conservatives to imagine that they now have the C. C. F. on the run would be unwise. It must be recognized that issues were at stake in the recent campaign that played no part in the 1935 election." And this able Conservative analyst adds that, in regard to future provincial elections especially, the recent results are of little use as a guide. This at least the returns of March 26th tend to confirm, by showing a substantial gain in votes polled by the C. C. F. in the central and northern districts, where dissatisfaction with the conduct of provincial matters is more to be expected than realization of national problems.

There are those who argue that the era of Parliamentary democracy is over and that there will be no more elections in our time. But most independent observers would agree that, in any provincial election which can be foreseen, the C. C. F. would not only keep its present seats in industrial areas but would add some 15 or 16 in the rural

ridings. With a provincial legislature of 48 the Party may thus be considered to have a fair chance of forming the next provincial government.

One minor adverse factor in the recent election is usually overlooked. It was the inhibitive realization by potential C. C. F. voters that, since the Party was not nominating enough candidates to form a government, the best their vote could do would be to increase the strength of the opposition. More political education or a more cohesive organization would be necessary fully to overcome this handicap; or better still, more candidates.

What then of the future? Assuming that the Parliamentary system continues it seems safe to predict that, as in Britain, one of the three existing parties is doomed to extinction. The only certainty is that it will not be the C. C. F., since that party alone represents the mass of the people, *tant bien que mal*. To C. C. F.-ers it is a matter of indifference which one of their opponents swallows the other, since both "appeal to the same clientèle," as the *Liberal Vancouver Sun* put it (after polling day). In view, however, of the Liberal Party's consolidation of its position as the Party of reaction it may be presumed that it will be the Conservative organization which will disappear.

Of much more urgent importance is how the C. C. F. itself will shape up to its responsibilities in an entirely new situation. Although only seven years old the movement generally, and in B. C. in particular, appears to have reached that stage of development at which a show-down on fundamental issues becomes both inevitable and necessary. In the provincial movement the divergent schools of thought are taking the classic form of Old Guard and New Guard. The terms are descriptive only and do not represent age groups. Both sides contain men and women who have spent years on active service in the progressive movement of the Coast. Hardening arteries may perhaps play a role in some cases, but to a less degree than usual are the factors involved other than those of honest differences of opinion.

Both sides are confronted by the insistent fact that, here as elsewhere, the C. C. F. has failed to attract the young generation. It is the broader implications of this fact which the Young Guard considers to be the outstanding political problem of the nation, and which is therefore likely to color its thinking increasingly. For it must be emphasized that the failure of the C. C. F. is shared by all other parties and groups, not excepting the Fascists and Communists.

Briefly the Old Guard maintains all that is needed to be more education for socialism,—“the prescription to be taken as before.” The other school declares this to be a parallel to Cham-

berlain's obstinate clinging to appeasement long after the rest of the world knew it to be a failure, or worse. Both sides agree, of course, that hope of supersession of the present bankrupt economic system can be the only source of lasting inspiration. It is a question of method. The Old Guard is willing to risk the charge of supine refusal to face facts by continuing a policy of drift. The more radical school bluntly declares that the appeal to reason has failed in our day and age; that what matters is a rational system of economics, but that to put it over the appeal must be to the emotions. It points to the huge abstention from the polls and to the indifference of youth as proof of the present abdication of "democracy," and to the frankly anti-Labor nature of the censorship and repressive legislation as an indication of this form of democracy's certain replacement by a type of fascism suitable to the great corporations which own both country and government. It is, says the New Guard, childish ignorance to suppose that "education for socialism" would be permitted under such a regime.

Inevitably both schools wait upon events and perhaps neither school fully realizes the degree to which its theories and plans can be completely upset by the course of a few weeks development of international affairs. At present time seems to favour the radicals. Immediately after the elections the Old Guard could point to the meagre returns at the polls for some constituencies in which the campaign had been conducted without evasion of war issues. Later expressions of rural opinion, however, show a change of opinion and are an indication that ostrichism does not pay.

Nevertheless the tendency of the conservative element in the Provincial Executive is to postpone decisions, when it can no longer ignore problems entirely. It seems fair to conclude that the Executive's decision to abandon the Annual Provincial Convention was primarily due to this mentality. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the C. C. F. is at present suffering from "negativism," a disease which has proved fatal to countless organizations in the past.

Night has fallen upon the capitalist world and in Canada, more even than elsewhere, Authority stands gibbering in the darkness. The hysterical use of the political police, the wholesale banning of periodicals of opinion, the resort to provincial armies of vigilantes, the arbitrary suppression of crank religious sects and foreign language groups, such absurd measures as the compulsory registration of all sporting guns, all in a country thousands of miles from a battlefield, proclaim a government hypocritical in action, and devoid of ideas, but above all scared.

It seems clear that such a policy must in the end

react to the credit of the Party which has all along declared that Labor could be led but not driven, and that the crux of the matter was the sincerity of the Government's claim to be anti-Fascist in its war effort. And on that there is no excuse for ignorance on the part of British Columbians. It is notorious that war material is still being shipped to Japan from British Columbia with the full knowledge and approval of Ottawa. It has been repeatedly asserted in the provincial press that the Government, besides supporting Japanese aggression, may in this way also be aiding Britain's chief enemy, since transshipment of much-needed copper from Japan to Germany across the U. S. S. R. is probable.

In such a situation prolonged delay may be dangerous. Man cannot long live in a political vacuum and, since the Government itself appears incapable of leadership, leadership will arise elsewhere. The danger is that the New Guard's theories could be easily distorted for the purposes of reaction, with Hitlerian fuhrership serving both as emotional appeal and to replace rational economic theory.

Whatever differences of opinion remain to be settled within the movement there is unanimous agreement that the results of the Federal elections spell no set-back for socialist theory. Party organization may require overhaul and educational methods seem to be in need of drastic revision. But there can be no doubt that, in B. C. as elsewhere, it is increasingly realized that although policies based on the alleged interests of a small privileged class usually lead to war, such policies and such interests can neither win a war nor build a lasting peace.

Here as elsewhere the lesson of the startling transformation in Britain is not being overlooked. There was no sincerity in Chamberlain's anti-Fascism, for he had made it plain by the sacrifice of much blood, treasure and strategic advantage that his real fear was socialism. Churchill has given guarantees at least of postponement of the fight on the home front, and on that basis a united effort against Fascism became possible. In Britain a beginning has been made towards equality of sacrifice and, paradoxically, there seems more real freedom in England today than there was before the plethora of war regulations was envisaged, because the majority of people are convinced that the restrictions are in the general interest and applied without fear or favor.

In Canada the exact opposite is taking place. From being a pre-war profiteer's paradise, the Dominion is becoming a racketeer's closed preserve. We have repression without reason, threat of violence without war, profiteering without measure.

If British Columbia shows many of the same symptoms which were visible elsewhere before the collapse of democracy, it is because, here as elsewhere, a democracy is obviously phoney under which ten per cent of the population owns ninety

per cent of the wealth. Nor is the failure of the economics of scarcity difficult to realize in a land which could, literally and with ease under a sane economic system, be made to flow with milk and honey.

Co-operatives in Canada

Janet Coerr

IN 1937, the last year for which complete figures are available, there were 1,024 marketing and consumer co-operatives in Canada, with 2,963 branches. Compared with Canada's 15 leading manufacturing industries, the co-operatives ranked third in gross sales value of products and fourth in capital invested.¹ Total membership of co-operative associations is estimated at approximately three quarters of a million.² These figures suggest an impressive picture of the extent and strength of the co-operative movement in Canada. But the unity indicated by a convenient grouping of many types of organization into one classification has little existence in fact. The single category 'co-operative' takes in miners and railroad workers in British Columbia, farmers in the prairie provinces; it ranges oil refineries in Regina and bee hives in Ontario alongside one another, and lumps together such diverse activities as handicraft coöps in the maritimes, farmers' mutual insurance companies, health and hospitalization associations, rural telephone companies, housing projects, and the small grocery stores of Toronto and Montreal.

Only a small proportion of these co-operatives are in the cities. As is natural in a country one third of whose people are engaged in agriculture, farmers' organizations are by far the most numerous and powerful. These associations take in half of the farmers of Canada.³ Of these, half again are in associations which engage only in *marketing*. They sell dairy products, vegetables, honey, tobacco or furs for their membership. The other half of the farmers are members of *purchasing* societies. Some organizations combine the two functions. Both activities, however, are primarily intended to benefit the farmer as a producer. Collective marketing obtains a better price for his product; collective purchasing secures his farm supplies at a lower price. It is only recently that some of the farmers have realized that the same organization

which purchases good quality supplies for the farm can also provide consumer goods for the farmhouse.

There are, then, two distinct types of activity going on within the farm co-operatives; co-operative marketing and co-operative purchasing. Defining a co-operative as a "business belonging to the people who use its services, the control of which rests equally with all the members, and the gains of which are distributed to the members in proportion to the use made of its services," covers both types of activity. But with further probing, a basic difference appears. The consumer or purchasing coöp is organized to obtain goods and services for its members at the lowest possible cost; the producers or marketing coöp is interested in getting the highest possible price for the products of its members. There arises a conflict of interests which sets marketing coöp against consumer coöp, and against the consuming public generally. The consumer interest unites every section of the population; the producer interest is necessarily bounded by vocational lines. In this respect the marketing coöp resembles both a trade union and a manufacturers' trade association. There is the same possibility that an increase in power may bring restricted production, monopoly prices, or dumping and destruction of 'excess' output — all prejudicial to consumer interest. The co-operative orange growers of California provide an instance in their practice of establishing huge dumping grounds at key points across the state. If prices threaten to fall because of a bumper crop, oranges are dumped to rot, and consumers continue to pay fancy prices for the fruit that reaches the market. Another example of action by producer co-operatives contrary to consumer interest is given by Hugh Boyd. In his book tracing the history of the western wheat pools,⁴ he observes:

"The Grain Growers Company did very well, and its profits were enlarged out of cleaning operations, including 'shading' dockage in a way that, when practised by private companies, used to enrage the growers. This was not the first time that the farmers in business adapted themselves quite readily to trade practices which from the outside

1. A. E. Richards of the Dominion Dept. of Agriculture, in a recent speech at MacDonald College, P. Q.
2. H. H. Hannam, President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture—C. B. C. Enquiry into Co-operation—1940.
3. The Econ. Division of the Dept. of Agriculture at Ottawa places the membership figure at 396,000.

4. New Breaking—J. M. Dent, Toronto 1938.

they had condemned." The producer obtained a greater part of the margin which had previously gone to middlemen — but the consumer received the same quality of grain as before.

It is clear that the term 'coöperative' does not necessarily indicate an organization working in the public interest. There is more than one kind of coöperative. In addition to purchasing coöps and marketing coöps which may or may not act in the public interest, there are businesses calling themselves 'coöperative', although it is doubtful if they ever heard of Rochdale or 'business for service, not profit.' The Coöperative Union of Canada has urged for some time that the designation 'coöperative' be reserved legally for organizations whose by-laws embody the principal Rochdale trading rules, namely:

1. Only one vote to each member, regardless of number of shares held.
2. Limited and fixed returns on capital.
3. Dividends apportioned according to patronage.

These rules are internationally recognized as necessary to successful coöperative enterprise. But in general the Rochdale principles serve more as guide lines than as a complete blueprint for social change. Essentially a movement of the people, coöperation in any country draws its character and color from the milieu in which it operates. The special needs of the people of a nation are reflected in their particular adaptation of coöperative theory to everyday practice. It is interesting to compare the rise of coöperative enterprise in Great Britain, Canada and the United States with this in mind.

In Great Britain the movement began among factory workers, and its growth has been almost wholly within the boundaries of the working and lower middle classes. From the start it was closely associated with trade unionism. The industrial worker joined his trade union to get higher wages and better working conditions; he joined his coöp to make that wage go further, and as a means of accumulating small savings against an uncertain future. Even the Rochdale pioneers, founding fathers of the modern consumer movement, were primarily conscious of themselves as producers. Their seven point program set forth their intention of setting up industries to provide employment for their members 'as soon as practicable.' The necessary capital was to come from the operation of the store. For many years afterward the leaders of the coöperative movement in England supported profit-sharing workshops, and ownership by the workers of a factory, rather than ownership by the consumers of the factory's products. But as the years proved the far greater practicability of the consumer ownership principle, the productive societies were taken over one by one by the consumer societies.

The coming of coöperative wholesaling in Britain was retarded by this confusion as to methods and objectives. It was not until 20 years after the opening of the Rochdale store that a successful wholesale was established. The retail societies had been competing against each other in the wholesale market in a most uncoöperative manner, and continually disputed points of doctrine and the boundaries of the territory from which they drew their membership. But in 1867 an amendment to the Industrial and Provident Societies Act permitted one society to invest in another. This provided the basis whereby societies of consumers could become the controlling units of a federal society. The need for a coöperative wholesale was increasingly evident; accordingly the Coöperative Wholesale Society was set up. It charged its member societies current wholesale prices and returned to them a dividend on purchases just as each society did to its patrons. With the success of the wholesale, a great expansion of trade in the retail societies took place. In the next decade coöperative regional federations grew up, and a national structure for the coöperative movement emerged. In 1884 the wholesale, hampered by the refusal of many manufacturers to sell to it, successfully tackled the field of production. Thus in a long circle around the coöperative consumers at last engaged in production as the pioneers had planned.

In Canada the indications are that the coöperative movement will follow a very different course. While in Great Britain the movement started with small retail stores uniting in a wholesale which gradually pushed back into manufacturing and finally into production of raw materials, in Canada the emphasis has been almost from the first on coöperative marketing by producers, with coöperative purchasing activities a later development. It is hard to imagine the Canadian farmer raising crops for his employers, the consumers. Yet in England this logical extension of consumer control to raw materials has already taken place.

U.S. and Canadian developments in coöperation resemble each other more than either resembles the British. After 1918 the American coöperative movement similarly received its principal impetus from the farmers' marketing pools. Farmers had been hard hit by the loss of foreign markets. At home farm prices fell, but manufacturers and distributors formed combines and kept industrial prices up. The farmers, willing to try anything that promised relief, organized pools for their separate produce, and marketed it collectively to obtain a better price. The federal government gave its blessing to this imitation of the industrialist method of maintaining prices. As in Canada, laws were passed and grants were made to assist agricultural coöperatives, while urban and consumer

coöperatives generally fought their battle unaided. The farmers' marketing coöps soon turned into purchasing coöps as well. Armed with formulas for ideal fertilizer or insect spray given them by local agricultural colleges or farm bureaus, they bought from manufacturers on specification. Just as in England, the manufacturers welcomed their orders until they woke up to what they meant. Then they refused to have any further dealing with the organized consumers. And history repeated itself in that the consumers went ahead and built their own fertilizer plants and tractor factories.

It was the same story in gas and oil. With the mechanization of the farm, the high price of gas and oil needed to run farm machinery was a serious problem. Farmers organized their own distributive outlets and built up their capital to the point where pipe lines and refineries of their own became possible. This whole phase of coöperative endeavor is uniquely North American, and it was the Canadian farmers who took the lead when they established the first coöperative oil refinery in the world at Regina in 1935.⁵

It is clear that Canadian coöperatives are not simply following the traditional model imported from abroad. In the refineries at Regina, in the handicraft coöperatives of the maritimes, in the unique adult education work of St. Francis Xavier, they are breaking new ground, creating new answers to new world problems. The movement is grounded in the needs and hopes of the Canadian people themselves.

5. Apparently the work of this refinery in cutting down the wide margin on oil products for their farmer members has come to the notice of some of the principal oil concerns in the district. On July 13 the Royalite Oil Co. informed Consumers Coöperative Refineries that the Turner Valleyfield in Alberta was producing only a little more than was required by the major oil companies. Accordingly, the new coöperative cracking plant, capable of using 1,500 barrels a day, was allotted only 400.

Love in the Lower Brackets

Poor honest lovers, whose dishonest love
 Gods disoblige, and mortals disapprove,
 What hope have they, poor devils, of amending
 Fortune their foe, to force a happy ending?

Oh, shall they dare a world they cannot trust?
 Shall they be still, and dry the blood to dust?
 What choice but disinheritance or disaster?
 Love conquers Death: but Life he cannot master.

JOHN SMALACOMBE

Civil Liberties

IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF THE WAR newspaper reports of prosecutions under the Defense of Canada Regulations usually reproduced the remarks made by the accused which were considered to be an offense. But under existing censorship regulations this is now forbidden so it is impossible to judge the nature of the various cases or their connection with civil liberty. However, the following prosecutions have been noted the past month: Montreal — Jan Scheper, Dutch painter sentenced to six months for making "disloyal remarks." H. R. Hanson, alias Paterson, Toronto sailor, charged for second time with spreading false rumors. Sentence postponed. Lindsay — Robt. R. Hawes, Hamilton cook, sentenced to one month on evidence of two boy scouts for making pro-Nazi statements. A war veteran, he protested his innocence and loyalty to the crown. Barrie — Robt. Griffith, war veteran and army cook, received six months determinate and six indeterminate because he had said he attended a Communist school in Toronto and was reported to have attacked the king and empire and expressed admiration for Stalin and Hitler. Toronto — Two men were held on vagrancy charges pending permission to charge them under D. of C. Regulations. No further reports. Welland — Andy Lovas, Hungarian, fined \$25 for spreading reports harmful to the state. He claimed he was misunderstood, saying "No one wants the damned Germans over here." Kitchener — Albert Hagler fined \$40 for unspecified offense. Guelph — Three employees on Shand dam given suspended sentences, three others held, apparently for disobeying alien registration regulations. Guelph — George Cassells sentenced to three years on three charges of prejudicing recruiting, causing disaffection and spreading reports likely to be prejudicial to the state. He pleaded guilty but said he did not realize the gravity of his remarks. Sarnia — John van Dollan arrested for making subversive statements. Windsor — Five men arrested and released on bail of \$500 each for making statements likely to cause disaffection. Regina — John Bold, middle-aged farmer from north Saskatchewan, is charged with treason, carrying the death penalty, for counselling an R.C.A.F. applicant for enlistment to assist the enemy. Case will be tried this fall. Winnipeg — Joseph Nazarkevitch held pending decision on his application for bail, for allegedly subversive statements. Prince Albert — Mrs. Christen Jensen fined \$100 for statements likely to cause disaffection. Penticton — Rev. W. E. G. Dovey, United Church minister, charged with making subversive remarks. He was relieved of his church last March. ¶ Members of Jehovah's Witnesses continue to be prosecuted all across the country for belonging to an illegal organization, distributing tracts and making subversive statements. Fines vary from \$5 to \$50. ¶ Suspected persons, enemy aliens, and some offenders of the D. of C. Regulations, such as Mayor Houde, continue to be interned and held indefinitely without trial. ¶ Conscientious objectors to military service will be considered later, when the first draft is called up, Ottawa states. ¶ Customs officers continue to hold up "suspicious" books for examination by the censor in Ottawa. Examination takes from two weeks to (?). Complaints are answered by the reply that they are working with a very small staff and trying to be fair to everyone. Meanwhile book importers are left waiting and wondering, with no receipt to show that the book is in the censor's possession.

Mobilizing the Teachers

Isabel Thomas

AS OUR CIVILIAN POPULATION becomes mobilized for the total war the schools must adjust themselves to suit the demands of society. In H. G. Wells' famous race between catastrophe and education, catastrophe has at present won; and this fact has far-reaching implications for education.

Curtailment of Grants for Education

One of the first demands to be made upon the schools will be a reduction of educational expenditures, and it is well-known that a reduction in these expenditures invariably implies a curtailment of educational opportunities. Instead of our provincial governments gradually assuming an increasing proportion of educational costs they have actually in some instances already taken the reactionary course of reducing these grants to the local municipalities. There is no longer any hope of the provincial governments assuming 50% of the costs of education as is done in Great Britain; nor can we reasonably hope that in the federal field the recommendations of the Sirois Report will be adopted, thereby setting provincial government funds free for education. The federal government will be more reluctant than ever to assume any responsibility for educational costs. More than ever the local municipality regardless of its economic status will be required to bear the major share of educational costs with all the resulting inequalities of educational opportunity. Increasingly will it be true that the child brought up in an impoverished community will receive a much poorer education than a child brought up in a prosperous community.

Lowering of Salaries

The most obvious effect of a reduction in provincial grants for education will be the inevitable reduction of teachers' salaries. Already we observe various measures being taken by school boards with this end in view. The attack upon women teachers' salaries has already gathered considerable momentum and has become one of the most potent planks in election platforms of such candidates for school boards as are more interested in tax reductions than they are in educational services. Such salary reductions can by no means be expected to affect women teachers only—they will result in time in a general lowering of all salaries. We shall thus be faced in the schools with a two-fold obstacle to improving the profession—the lowering of salaries and the withdrawal for military purposes of many of our best young men. The important feature of such movements will not be the

economic effect upon the teachers themselves—much as that will be felt in a time of mounting living costs and income taxes—the most serious result will be the effect upon our whole educational structure and the educational opportunities afforded our boys and girls. This is something in the nature of suicide for a democratic society at a time such as this when democracy is fighting a life and death struggle.

Attacks on New Curriculum

The new curriculum, now in process of being adopted all across Canada, will come under fire. The charge will be made that under these curricula we do not make good mechanics and good soldiers. Society will probably require the schools to abandon their efforts to make free citizens, fitted to live happily in a free society and will demand an exclusively utilitarian and vocational education. The danger here lies not in the schools becoming too vocational. It is generally conceded that there is a dearth of vocational education outside of the larger centres. The cause of this does not lie in the curricula so much as in the increased cost of providing facilities for vocational education. We have in the past overloaded our smaller schools with academic subjects because these subjects can be taught at a minimum of cost. Now we shall be asked to reduce costs further, with at the same time a hue and cry being raised against the teaching of purely cultural subjects. We shall therefore be faced with the danger of losing these subjects without any compensating gains in the vocational field because of the cost involved.

The New Discipline

In eight of the nine provinces within the last few years reforms in curriculum long overdue have been introduced. These reforms have been accompanied by a new discipline. In an attempt to spur the child on to a more vital and more effective educational effort the old formal disciplines have been abandoned. But every teacher knows that parents generally interpret this merely as "weak discipline". Every parents' night fathers and mothers urge the teacher,—"You just make my boy do so-and-so." The collapse of the European democracies is going to be ascribed to lack of discipline and the blame will be given to the schools and particularly to the new "weak" concepts of education. At the very time when a modern philosophy of education is struggling for realization the public will demand and many teachers will condone a sabotaging of the whole scheme.

Dangers in National Unity

As the pressure for national unity becomes more intense there are several dangers which must be guarded against.—One of these is the tendency to betray the cause of truth in the interest of national advantage. Attempts will be made to suppress textbooks which are not strongly nationalistic or which express faith in internationalism. Teachers of alien descent and those whose national loyalty fails to take certain forms will be dismissed. As teachers attempt to stem the tide of war hysteria, as they try to base their opinions and attitudes upon reason they may be subject to charges of disloyalty. Particularly will this be true of university teachers. The best guarantee of academic freedom in war time would be a strong union of teachers.

The Functions of One-Big Union

Let us now consider how one-big union of educationists might be influential in checking these four trends which are definitely injurious to education. Public opinion must be moulded if we wish to preserve our democratic system. In England where all teachers are organized under The National Union of Teachers, the English government has increased its grants this year by approximately one million pounds, but in Canada no effective voice has been raised against government reductions. If all teachers in Ontario were unified there would be 20,624 members; if all teachers in Canada formed an organization similar to the National Union of Teachers in England there would be a membership of 53,287. This does not include teachers in the universities or in the Catholic schools. The value of a national teachers' organization may be seen in the role of the teachers in the war effort. In England teachers commanded such public confidence that the work of evacuating the children was done chiefly by them; but in Canada the offers of teachers' organizations to assist in the placing of English children in Canadian homes were not given even a reply and individual teachers functioned under other auspices. It is obvious that if the profession commanded public confidence in Canada the whole educational machinery might have been used to do the national registration. The opening of schools might have been delayed three days and principals, teachers and class-rooms might have been utilized. Such a scheme would not only have given teachers the opportunity for national service which they desire but it would also have saved enough public money to make reductions in government grants for education unnecessary.

Teachers' organizations especially in eastern Canada are so small and disunited that they bow to public opinion instead of moulding that opinion. Lacking power they seldom try to use it. An ex-

ample of what can be achieved by organization was shown in Saskatchewan last year. After teachers had taught through years of the depression for ridiculously low salaries which often were not even paid, the federation announced that no teacher would accept a position at a salary less than \$700. They had no reserve fund to assist any teacher who was without a position for this reason, but they were able to carry public opinion with them so that the legislature established \$700 as a legal minimum salary. The salary situation in Ontario and even more so in Quebec illustrates the result of weak organization. In these much wealthier provinces there is no minimum for Quebec and merely a \$500 minimum in Ontario. Actually in Ontario in 1939 there were nearly 1,000 teachers who taught for less than the minimum wage for factory girls.

In peace times teachers struggle for salaries not only because of self-interest but also because they realize that a country that wants good teachers must offer high salaries. In war time, however, teachers themselves, especially women, believe that it is unpatriotic to struggle against salary decreases. Small groups of teachers bargaining with local school boards are helpless, and they can be helped only by a strong organization that can influence public opinion as the Saskatchewan teachers did.

The last war placed the payment of teachers in England on a national schedule—the Burnham scale. Army surveys revealed the inefficiency of education in impoverished areas, and such inefficiencies were felt to be a national menace from the military point of view. Just at the end of the war a committee headed by Lord Burnham and composed of representatives of teachers' organizations, local authorities and the national government drew up a schedule of salaries so that all teachers in England, exclusive of the London County Council which already had a schedule, are paid on the same schedule. The desire for military efficiency led to a national salary schedule in England; if the war continues for some years something in the nature of a national salary schedule will be necessary in Canada because the educational standards in impoverished communities will be below army requirements.

In moulding public opinion with regard to education the federations have been handicapped by the absence of the university teachers. The prestige which these men carry would increase the effectiveness of the federations, while the large numbers of the secondary and elementary teachers would help gain a hearing for the progressive ideas of university teachers. In Alberta teachers of all age-levels are joined in one federation and a very happy co-operation has been established between

the various groups. Mergers of men's and women's groups, mergers of elementary and secondary federations are long overdue and in all provinces except Alberta the organization of university teachers is yet to be accomplished.

A one-big union of educationists could defend the new curriculum in two ways. a) by educating teachers and b) by interpreting the new curriculum to the public more effectively. In the United States there is a serious cleavage between the progressives and the essentialists but as yet the extremes of opinion are not expressed in Canada. The average teacher, educated and trained under the old system, is asked to switch his whole educational philosophy and finds himself confronted with an impossible task. Many of them complain against the new curriculum not because they do not believe in it but because they know they lack the techniques and are ignorant of the methods to be used. Already many university professors are complaining that the products of the high schools are not as well prepared for university life as they were ten years ago, and high school teachers complain that the graduates of the elementary school are not so well trained as previously. Obviously a closer co-operation between teachers of the various age-levels is needed.

One type of activity for such a union would be the organizing of educational workshops. For the past six years the workshop movement in the United States has been growing with great rapidity sponsored chiefly by the Progressive Educational Association. For six weeks in the summer teachers of various levels meet in a University centre where libraries and recreational facilities are available. General sessions discuss changing philosophies and methods and smaller special interest groups are gathered around outstanding teachers so that each teacher can discuss his and her particular problem. Such self-help schemes especially in war-times when summer courses are severely curtailed would fill a long-felt need.

Another advantage of one-big union to the teachers themselves would be financial. The benefits of all schemes for group insurance increase with the size of the group involved, and many new forms of insurance might be undertaken by a large group.

Mobilizing Education

In the whole scheme of mobilizing the civilian population for the war effort, of re-shaping our schools to fit the changed society and of teaching the more aggressive democracy that the crisis demands the teachers' voice should be heard in no uncertain terms. The cause of democracy abroad is truly desperate, and teachers can do little to

help, but the fate of democracy at home lies chiefly in their hands. Disunited and unprepared they will let their cause be defeated. They will allow irresponsible party machines to defeat them in their task of creating well-educated citizens fit for democratic life.

Our hope lies in united action. An organized body of teachers, comprising all teachers from kindergarten to university, organized on a provincial basis but federated into a strong national body is an imperative and immediate necessity. Since we must carry on education on a greatly reduced income let us pool our resources, let us re-allot the money wisely. Since our educational machinery must be modified let us see that educationists do the planning. A lessening of educational activity, a cleaning of the house, a discarding of unessentials may not be a bad thing if the work is done by people who understand the issues involved. If we are to perform the function which is peculiarly ours in this time of national danger a much stronger and larger professional organization is needed.

Zero Hour

Trumpets of death are dimly blowing.
Their cries break down the heavy walls of sleep,
Invade the talk of lovers and are heard
In the hushed and hallowed picture palaces,
Club rooms and garden-parties of the great.
Uneasy Europe feels her borders shrink
Under the pull and lap of rising water;
They've seen the signs in foreign embassies,
The anxious rooms, the scurrying corridors,
Rats in a condemned mine under a falling roof,
Fighting for space and breath, and in their ears
The roar of rising water from the pits.
They know the signs, they'll make the others suffer
Or they go under.
Now from the frontiers of the night

I honor those unnamed ones who have gone
Back to the earth with honor still about them,
Who fought and died, in company and alone.
They knew the final triumph of the spirit
Before they scattered into dust and air;
Theirs was delight in life, they moved through light,
And their glad speech comes to us from the van
Where, with undying hearts and hands of fire
They burst the gates and break the iron walls.

PATRICK D. WADDINGTON

THE CANADIAN FORUM



ERNEST NEUMANN

OLD HOUSE - MONTREAL

SEPTEMBER, 1940

Designers for Living

Douglas MacAgy

AT SOME TIME all of us have felt the allure of planning an ideal state of our own. Few of us, it is true, get beyond the rough draft. But if we rarely take the time to raise much of a structure, we turn the more readily to those who have. Some of us may prefer to dream with More, or to exchange this life for some private Cythera, but today it is more popular to find an ideal that is feasible in terms of the workaday world. We are likely to admire practicable flights of imagination in our waking life, and to enjoy the more fanciful sort of excursion only in the few moments before we put out the light. The New York World's Fair appeals to this speculative side of our nature, and if much there is fanciful, the work of two practical visionaries stands out. Both of these men have tried to show how our urban and country scene may look in twenty years. Henry Dreyfuss's plan may be seen from the heights of the interior of the Perisphere, whereas, inside the General Motors Building, Norman Bel Geddes takes the visitor on a miniature trip across the States in 1960. Each model, with its vast engineering scheme of highway, trestle, and bridge, its dams, its power plants, its irrigated farms, and its organized city buildings, presents in fine detail the solution to many of our most urgent problems of utility and art.

Dreyfuss and Geddes are not architects. They have executed no permanent buildings of note; they have not re-housed slum areas; yet it is impossible to ignore their significance in the contemporary life of this continent. They and their colleagues are, in a sense, always with us. Usually they are anonyms. While we prize our personal collections of painting and sculpture, many of us are the unconscious owners of a Dreyfuss, a Geddes, or a Teague. The Hoover vacuum cleaner is a Dreyfuss design; Geddes planned the Standard stove; Walter Teague fashioned the Kodak.

These are objects of use, but there is good reason to regard them as works of art as well. Pedestal art must be contemplated at leisure, whereas the products of industrial design are meant to please us while we work. This pleasure is by no means unmixed. Both aesthetic and functional needs are considered. The instrument that precisely fits its purpose has a special appeal, but the most exquisite utility need not preclude the aesthetic. The new article must accurately fulfil its duty, and at the same time be attractive to the hand and the eye. There have been times when art and use were at odds in a single form. During the past hundred years, for example, the sight of our man-made

world has been pretty sorry. It is not necessary to remind one of its individual products; the old methods still crop up. Only a few years ago a radio plant hired 150 art students to paint pretty rural scenes on its metal cabinets. But these hybrid monsters are becoming the exception.

The quagmire of Victorianism is beginning to dry out. The scientific attitude plunged us into it; and the same attitude, developed further, is helping to clear it. Scientific procedure isolates its fields of inquiry, and during the nineteenth century, art and use withdrew into separate spheres of autonomy. Ladies and gentlemen were reluctant to exclude art utterly from their daily duties, but a distinction was sanctimoniously drawn between art that was "fine" and art that was "applied". Applied art was exploited by commerce, which periodically changed the fashion in the fancy dress of its products in order to renew its markets. But applied art played the part of Cinderella, and if she sometimes attained a grandeur, it was always in the prevalent style of the court. Even courtly art, however, was to submit to scientific method. Far ahead of his time, Walter Pater made an assertion the implications of which were not perceived until our own day. "All art," he wrote, "constantly aspires towards the condition of music." Design, it was seen at the start of this century, is thematic composition, and as such is not necessarily relevant to representation. Pater did not strip his theory so bare; it would have violated his thought; but under scientific analysis his statement received ruthless refinement. In part this theory came to mean that any sensuous stuff is capable of thematic exploitation, whether it is oil paint, marble, or flotsam and jetsam. Such components of appearance as shape, hue, texture and line may be the elements of design. The artist simply takes an ingredient, states it, repeats it, varies it, contrasts it with another, and the result is a design that may be of artistic worth. A human figure or any part of it may be developed in this way, but design does not require recognizable subject matter. The Grand Style had combined the two. It was not until the advent of Cubism, however, that a new style of non-representational art became evident.

When the machine took over, the craftsman was left out. Under his ministrations the product had been duly considered in both its aesthetic and useful aspects. Much of its aesthetic charm grew out of personal handling, and out of the craftsman's intimate knowledge of the processes of its manufacture. The machine severed that connexion. The machine first produced the article, and then the artist was called in to dress it according to the latest style. The artist was simply a stylist. Compared with the old-fashioned craftsman, he was

what William Morris used to call the "nothing but" kind of person. He had no respect for the material in which his design was to be executed, nor did he care about the way the machine worked it. This lack of sympathy for the relation between material and the principles of its artistic organization disintegrated the form of industrial wares. The aspects of art and use in a single product were as separable as an oyster and its half shell. As a stylist, the designer thought in terms of the popular revivals of his time. If he did not submerge the object in Gothic tracery, he screened it with columns and pediments or crawling acanthus leaves and fat little putti. It was not until much later, when the way of science had finally separated the concept of design from that of representation, that this claptrap of antique motives was abandoned. The new theory of design, that of thematic composition, then permitted the designer to start from scratch. Since direct sensuous experience was necessary in order to develop an art in the new manner, the designer for industry entered the factory, where he investigated the properties of materials and saw how they were affected by machinery.

This change had been in the air long before it became manifest to the public. Before the turn into our century, one of William Morris's most astute followers, William Lethaby, was advising his students to drop all their theories about proportion and orders, and to think of their work in terms of available material. The way was not clear, however, until Cubism paved it. The Cubist movement is of historical and psychological significance because it proved once and for all that the functions of design, if not of art, are quite independent of representation. But if the shapes that the Cubists created bore no resemblance to familiar objects in their own day, that is not the case now. For the Cubist painters evolved forms that are typical of the machine products and standardized constructions of today. Wyndham Lewis has suggested that these painters intuitively foresaw the machine age with its machine philosophy. It is tempting to credit the Cubists with more than due significance, but their twofold message to industrial art is valid. In the one instance, they demonstrated an interesting style of pure design, and in the other they created a new vocabulary of shapes that could be easily adapted to machine manufacture. At the present time, objects are usually machined in the fewest possible units which are then fitted together. There are good economic reasons for this. For example, when Geddes designed the Standard stove he discovered that sixteen basic units could be variously combined to make up each model that Standard produced. When these replaced the

multitude of parts that had been made before, the tooling cost was reduced twenty-five per cent, and the production cost was correspondingly lower. The most convenient shapes to be standardized for such assemblies are those of a geometrical nature. It was the geometrical aspect of Cubism that interested the pioneers of modern industrial art.

Walter Gropius is perhaps more responsible than any other man for the impetus behind the industrial art movement of the last twenty years. Long before he started the Bauhaus he was deeply interested in the relation between modern methods of production and architecture. His name was associated with experiments in prefabricated housing at a very early date. When he organized the Bauhaus at Weimar in 1919, it was to bring together, for the first time in any educational institution, the best informed plans for the re-integration of art and use in modern life. The curriculum insisted on a thorough education of the senses, which were exercised in the manipulation of a wide range of materials. The student became as familiar with the qualities and capacities of raw material as the craftsman had been a hundred years before. He learned how historical art forms were the result of special technics and purposes. Finally, he received a severe technical training in the most up to date methods of factory production. The Bauhaus bore fruit a few years after its inception. In the twenties it created new types of useful article such as the tubular chair, as well as various kinds of wall paper and electric light fixture that are very popular on this continent now. Hitler closed the school in 1933, and many members of its faculty and student body are working in the States at the present time. Gropius himself is professor of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard, while Moholy, a brilliant follower, conducts a new Bauhaus, now known as the School of Design, at Chicago.

Gropius realized that if art and use were to be integrated in a single form, they must be integrated first in the mind of the man who creates it. It was this notion that set the stage for the industrial artist in America. Industrial design, as an independent profession, did not appear on this continent until the late twenties. There had been a few false starts, chiefly because of inadequate preparation, and also because the time was not quite ripe. Business men had yet to be convinced that they were losing sales because of the dowdy and confused appearance of their goods. It was an historic moment when Henry Ford acknowledged, by the drastic re-design of his 1927 model, that appearance was a sales factor. But the depression really set the modern industrial designer on his feet. The old methods no longer boosted

sales. The designer was finally given a trial. What the industrialist got was not only a designer, but also an efficiency expert. The Gropius influence had had a telling effect. There were some twenty-five to thirty men ready to meet the business man's needs, and each had more or less assimilated within himself the attitudes that had theretofore belonged separately to the artist, the engineer, and to the business man himself.

It is in the last capacity that the American designer differs conspicuously from the Bauhaus man. The American is willing to make compromises between business interests and those of art and engineering. His designs are governed far more by the commercial game of fashion. Like the Victorian artist, he is a stylist. Sakier, for example, believes in giving the public what it wants and not, as he puts it, what some artistic individual thinks it ought to have. The stylist must keep in step with the current market taste. Undoubtedly his own designs make excellent propaganda for the establishment of popular preferences, and in this way he has some control of the shift in fashion, but there are always wayward forces at work that keep him on his toes. Dreyfuss told the author that before he planned a design for the following year, he made a point of looking at this year's ladies' hats. Since women are the great spenders of the nation, their taste counts.

Style, in the large sense, may distinguish one whole art movement from another. Even in the language of abstract shapes the American shows preferences unlike those which are characteristic of the Bauhaus. As a rule the Bauhaus designer composes in clear Euclidean units; each unit is easily seen as a derivative of a fundamental shape such as the cone, the cylinder, or the cube. The American, on the other hand, leans more to the use of irregular shapes. If there is a basic unit for his variations it is the cam. Wadsworth, Arp, and other contemporary painters had already demonstrated the character of this shape. The designer found that it was not too far a stretch from the cam to the curves of a modern car.

Painting and sculpture may be ignored if they offend, but no one can escape the influence of the industrial designer. His ideas pervade our active life. From the contour of a fountain pen to that of a new train, the lines are his. If there are unfortunate concessions to the caprice of fashion, the fundamental conflict of art and use in form has been appeased. The future of this concept is in capable hands. The industrial designer sees his problems clearly; that he has found the solution to many in a comprehensive and coherent vision of a possible future, is proved twice at the New York Fair.

Canadian Poem of the Year

Earle Birney

BY TURNING INLAND to the eastern borders of Lake Huron and back in time to the 17th century tragedy of the martyred Jesuit mission among the Huron Indians, Mr. Pratt has shown once more that he can adventure successfully into ever new and difficult terrain. In this, his tenth volume*, there is the same narrative verve and dramatic intensity, founded on a fine factual assimilation of his subject, which have helped to make him not only Canada's most remarkable poet but also the finest poet of the sea writing today in the English language. There is the same technical brilliance in the variable flow of sound and flexibility of line—here in a running blank verse, agreeably modulated by anapaests—and once more the imagery reveals, though in a more subdued fashion, his flashing imagination and his panoramic eye. Most important, the story of Brébeuf, Lalemant, and the other pioneer priests tortured to death by the Iroquois, gives full scope for the human qualities of "Ned" Pratt, his unabashed warmth of heart, and his enthusiasm for mankind in its moments of courage, endurance, comradeship and self-sacrifice.

It was inevitable, of course, that the writing of a tragic epic about a Jesuit saint would impose sharp limitations, and it is one of the revealing things about Mr. Pratt, and about this Canada we live in, that it should have been written at all, let alone so well, by the son of a Methodist minister and a professor in a Methodist college. Yet the devoutest Catholic will surely read it with pleasure and certainly without offense, though he may find that the religious motivations and experiences of the Huron missionaries are at the best romantically and energetically apprehended rather than emotionally realized. The ties of understanding between the poet and his characters are not so bound in the heart as in *The Roosevelt and the Antinoe*, and the reader's blood is stirred less even though his sensibilities are more painfully wrought upon—as in the torture scenes.

The theme has forced the poet to mute two of his most individual qualities, his cosmic humor and his gusto. There is nothing here of the excellent foolery of *The Witches' Brew*, with its essential Pratt combination of hilarity and learning, or of the jovial rhyming and lusty imaginings of *The Titans*. Nor is there room for any of the satirical subtleties of *The Fable of the Goats* or the religious lyricism of *The Iron Door*.

On the other hand, there is a restraint and a sim-

*Brébeuf and His Brethren: E. J. Pratt; Macmillans; pp. 65; \$1.25.

plicity which are comparatively new, though exhibited in many of Mr. Pratt's shorter poems since the first days of *Newfoundland Verse*. And there is, by the same token, an absence of those weaknesses which have flowed from the excess of strength in his previous narrative work. In *Brébeuf* the tempo never gets out of hand, the voice does not hoarsen from a too prolonged *fortissimo*, (as at times in *The Titanic*), and there is none of the rhetorical fireworks which occasionally bedim even the best of his poems. Above all, in *Brébeuf*, bigness of deed and character is not made merely spectacular or grotesque, but is heightened into the grand.

Brébeuf is then in some respects Mr. Pratt's best work, though by no means illustrative of his manifold talents. It is not so well integrated as the *Roosevelt*, nor as individualized, nor as emotionally full. Its climax is more satisfactory but still, as in his other narratives, it falls somewhat short by being too intensely anticipated. But *Brébeuf* is eminently faithful to its heroic aim which is to exalt a group of suffering and undaunted human beings against their background of medieval France and barbarian Huronia. No finer introduction both to early Canadian history and to contemporary Canadian poetry could be given school children of this country than Mr. Pratt's *Brébeuf*.

Writing in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* two years ago Mr. Pratt reminded critics that though there are no peaks in Canadian poetry there are at least a few foothills "and the mountains come to birth out of the foothills." With this volume Mr. Pratt's own achievement continues visibly to rise into what may be the first of our Rockies.

Correspondence

John Fairfax writes: In his reply to what he calls my "crack" at NEW WORLD in an article on Canada's colonial complex, Mr. Graham McInnes, while admitting one of my central criticisms to be "well taken," nevertheless suggests that I am myself a victim of the colonial complex in desiring a more distinctively Canadian tone and content in Canadian magazines. That I make allowance for Canada's North Americanism is apparent in my statement: "Similarities, of course, one would expect to find in the periodicals of two North American peoples possessing so many traits in common, but in a country pretending to any sort of national status, surely not this deadly duplication of tone and feature." This might have epitomized my criticism of NEW WORLD, though I might well have gone further and complained of the small proportion of significant Canadian news pictures and the high percentage of trivialities in the early issues of a magazine supposed to be "doing a good reporting job on Canada." Nor can I admit that this was "inherent in the getting under way of any new enterprise," and not in a characteristic Canadian tendency to follow patterns established by foreign publishers instead of striking out on fresh lines and (in the case of NEW WORLD) "doing

a good reporting job on Canada." Publishers do not risk initial failure through lack of thought and planning on their first issues; these represent their ideas of what the new venture should be like. However, as a sincere well-wisher of NEW WORLD, I hasten to admit the validity of Mr. McInnes' claim that some of my criticisms have been met in recent issues. It is now easier to distinguish NEW WORLD from LIFE on the newsstands, and the contents have shown a considerable advance towards "doing a good reporting job on Canada." Is it possible that the well-meant remarks of friendly critics may have had something to do with that? Let us hope that NEW WORLD will hold steadily to the ideal which Mr. McInnes avows for it — "to make Canada better known to Canadians."

O CANADA!

"Down in the county of Westmorland (N.B.) no man can get a job in connection with the building of these airports unless he has a letter from the Liberal machine," Mr. Hanson declared. He mentioned the Dexter Construction Company.

"Shame on a government that will allow that sort of thing to go on in war-time!"

(July 16, The Daily Gleaner, Fredericton, N.B.)

Don't ask the boss for a raise because the national defense tax and the war-time income taxes make a dent in your salary. Hon. J. L. Ilsley, minister of finance, today told the House of Commons that if raises were given to counteract these imposts, no sacrifice would be made by the individual and the purpose of the deductions would be defeated.

(July 30, Toronto Daily Star)

In no other city in the world is there a hotel quite like the Chateau Laurier. Not only is the Chateau a beautiful building and a well-run hotel, but its lobbies combine in unique fashion the good features of Claridge's in London and a People's Palace in the U.S.S.R. Grave privy councillors rub shoulders with simple folk from the back country on terms of easy and unembarrassed familiarity. Admirals and generals and privates pass freely in and out, each enjoying its hospitality and each behaving with becoming decorum. Nowhere else can one see democracy in such perfect action.

(July 13, Stuart Armour in Toronto Saturday Night)

The series of evangelistic services which are being conducted by Miss Elsie Allan and Miss Ella Parmenter, of Toronto, at the Elim Pentecostal Tabernacle, have been a source of great benefit to the people who have availed themselves of the opportunity of hearing these young ladies. Tonight Miss Parmenter will commence the story of her life. Previous to her conversion, she was a famous ballroom dancer in many of the large night clubs, cabarets and hotels in London, England. She will give first hand information regarding what goes on behind the scenes at these night-life centres and will thrill her hearers as she relates her experiences as a dancer.

(May 13, St. Catharines (Ont.) Standard)

This month's prize of \$1 or six months' subscription goes to R. H. Wright, Fredericton, N.B. All contributions should contain original clipping, the date and name of publication from which taken.

Sailors Are Human Beings Too

Frank Fraser

"WHY DID THEY QUIT?"

"Because I fired the watchman."

Question asked by Magistrate J. B. Hopkins of Port Colborne, answered by Captain Thomas Heffernan of the lake freighter John J. Ramacher. He was complainant against five sailors, charging under the Canada Steamshipping Act that they "did unlawfully combine with others of the crew to impede the navigation of the ship or the progress of the voyage." Magistrate Hopkins, in a historic verdict, dismissed the charge, thereby upholding the right of a union delegate to negotiate with the ship's master over the discharge of a seaman. The captain had refused the exercise of that right, although he told the court he regularly hired union men in preference to others. "When we want them we just call the union office and they send them," he said.

All the foregoing may be found, almost in that form, in the *Toronto Star* of Nov. 26, 1937. At that time the Canadian Seamen's Union was 18 months old, had called a strike against the Lake Carriers' Association, "the bosses' union," and had brought it to terms eight hours before the picket line was due to form. "The wages of every sailor on the Canadian Great Lakes went up 20% to 25% that day," to quote the official history of the C.S.U., contained in the brilliant brief prepared by the union, with the aid of J. L. Cohen, who represented the seamen on the dominion government conciliation board which superseded the Great Lakes strike of April last.

Sailors aren't slaves, but until the Canadian Seamen's Union came into existence they might just as well have been. This writer worked as a waiter, so many years ago that "union" meant nothing but "wedding" to him, on a lake boat that combined passenger with freight traffic. He worked 11 to 13 hours a day, seven days a week, with one Sunday and two week days off in 14 weeks, but he had it soft compared to the sailors. They worked just as long and hard as they could be worked and still have strength to keep on working. They were dependent entirely on the whim of an exceptionally whimsical skipper who even, because he had a girl friend in the United States port of call, kept the ship there most of her off hours, instead of in the Canadian port where nearly all the sailors lived.

What did they do about it? They grumbled, very sotto voce, and let it go at that. But in April, 1936, some other Canadian sailors decided grumbling was getting them precisely nowhere. They started

a little organization, with a Montreal office, and soon affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In July of that year the union opened a Toronto office, and by the end of the year more than 1,200 seamen had joined up. Next year, with another office in Fort William, the union achieved its first agreement—verbal—with Canada Steamship Lines, Tree Line and Quebec & Ontario Transportation Co. That fall came the strike call against the other companies, and the union victory, and by the end of 1937 the C.S.U. claimed more than 60% of Great Lakes seamen.

"We don't want a union!" had been the cry of the shipowners. Now it changed to "We want a Canadian union!" And the Canadian Federation of Labor, a splinter group which nobody loves but the employers, obliged with the Brotherhood of Ship's Employees, headed by Captain H. N. McMaster, who with his "union" has since gone the way of the last rose of summer. Right and left he signed contracts for startled seamen who knew little of what was being done "for" them, and by February, 1938, he claimed to have sewed up 140 ships and 5,000 seamen. The same day he made that claim, however, J. A. "Pat" Sullivan, slim but sturdy president of the C.S.U., declared the Brotherhood's genuine membership "practically non-existent." He accused the companies which had welcomed the Brotherhood of "violating all the established rights of labor in compelling seamen, Canadian citizens, members of our union, to join a company union and pay monies to it as condition of employment." He had affidavits to prove his charges, and the union voted to strike against this company-union domination.

On April 16, 1938, 850 seamen on 44 ships struck. Promptly, Capt. R. Scott Misener, president of the Colonial Steamship Co., thundered, "The crews of my vessels want nothing to do with a union controlled by Max Rosens, alias Pat Sullivan, who has come from New York trying to force our Canadian men into an American-controlled organization." To which Sullivan retorted, "A couple of years ago they were calling me 'that damned Irishman.' Now I'm a New York Jew laden with millions of rubles from Moscow." (Sullivan has often been called a Communist, once by the premier of Nova Scotia, has always denied it.) Actually, he was born in Ireland, came to Canada and worked as a seaman until organizing became a full-time job.

Fifty-four hours later the union won the strike, gaining the promise of "no discrimination for

strike activity, no objection to any seaman joining the union of his choice, and that the company will negotiate with any union for its own members."

In August, 1938, the union, by voting to strike, won from Canada Steamships Ltd., its first contract embodying exclusive bargaining rights, as well as a \$5-a-month increase and the 12-hour day. It is interesting to note here that these countries (besides others now annexed by Germany) have the eight-hour day for seamen: Great Britain, Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia and New Zealand; and that United States seamen work eight hours at most, many of them less. Canadian Great Lakes sailors find it anomalous that they should work 12 hours carrying the same cargoes on the same waters as U. S. sailors working eight hours a day. That's for a seven-day week, and deckhands are on call 24 hours a day.

This condition is referred to in the union brief, which states that 16 to 18 hours' work a day is "not exceptional" for deckhands, as "of distinct danger both to the welfare of the men and the safe handling of the boat . . . No such vicious standards of manning or of hours of work prevail elsewhere in shipping, let alone in any other industry. Keeping an oiler, working in the engineroom in a temperature of over 100 degrees, in and about moving machinery for 12 hours a day, six on and six off, is an archaic standard, and the eight-hour day for all engineroom work should be established as the very maximum. Similarly the two six-hour stretches for the wheelman expose him to strain and fatigue which endanger the safety of crew and vessel . . .

"The work of boat crews is strenuous at best, apart altogether from situations of hazard and emergency. The work is irregular, exacting, and alternates between dull but nevertheless strenuous routine and acute situations which demand intense labor, quick intelligence and undaunted courage . . . During the off periods the men are required to do work relating to their own accommodations and quarters which, while it may not comparatively involve strenuous effort, absorbs time which is thus not available either for sleep or leisure. Thus, during these periods, the men, besides time spent on meals which of course is normal to every worker, must keep their living quarters clean and in order, perform the washing and keeping in order of their own clothes, and generally in relation to their own personal affairs and accommodation spend time which on shore is not required of the worker."

The companies which have now signed a new contract with the union, in their joint submission to the conciliation board, claim that the union's statements "create an atmosphere of exaggeration. It is an attempt to show that the employees are

overworked and continually under pressure from their employers, which is contrary to the facts. With the exception of the firemen, generally speaking none of the employees for the majority of their working hours under normal conditions at sea are under pressure; nor are any of these employees overworked under the present system. They have long periods of what practically amounts to leisure during their working hours."

Readers who have visited enginerooms and observed the work of seamen on freight boats will have an idea which picture is nearer accurate, but few will fail to be amused by the mention of the "long periods of what practically amounts to leisure" during hours as long as deckhands spend on duty.

The brief presented by Paterson Steamships Ltd., one of the group still holding out against the union at the time of writing, asserts that "on the whole the duties of a Canadian lake seaman are such that it cannot be said he is being overworked or underslept or underfed . . . The crews at the present time actually have more leisure time on board ship than they know what to do with, and when it is considered that, particularly on the Upper Lakes and in the St. Lawrence trade, the trips are of several days' duration and there is really no work required other than general maintenance from the time the boat leaves port until it arrives at its destination. During this time it can be said that the crews are more or less free and easy."

This writer's recollection of "general maintenance" on such trips is that it kept the boys pretty busy. Then there's the thought that this company's statement presents a picture of a calm trip only, whereas there are plenty of stormy, trying trips; while the union's brief is careful to present both aspects.

Interesting sidelight on the lack of up-to-dateness on many lake boats is the union's demand, at its 1939 convention, for radios on all ships, ventilators to carry off accumulated coal gas, and regular government inspection of safety equipment. Dewar Ferguson, who is now acting president of the C.S.U., declared, "The other day one captain told me he had yet to see a proper government inspection of his vessel since he took command of it ten years ago."

Sullivan said, at the same convention, that some lake captains were frequently working 20 hours a day, and were in no condition to go on piloting without rest. The union urged the government to require compulsory payment of pilotage fees, so that captains would get relief instead of doing the pilot's job as well as their own.

At the end of 1939 the Canadian Seamen's Union

had contracts, individual and collective, with most of the industry on the Great Lakes. The contracts either ended or were automatically renewed on April 1, 1940. In January the union secretary, J. S. Chapman, wrote all other parties to the contracts, giving notice of intention to terminate them on April 1, and negotiate new ones.

However, the union didn't get anywhere this time. Things were different. There was a war on, and the companies knew how to use the words "national emergency" as a catch phrase. They intimated that there'd be no renewal this time except on vastly poorer terms for their employees, instead of on the union's proposed terms of a general \$15-a-month raise, closed shop, an average of three extra men per vessel, cash overtime for all work, and more equal distribution of work.

Culmination of the "national emergency" campaign was the sudden announcement by W. M. Dickson, federal labor department conciliator, that a strike would be illegal. This the union considered gratuitous assistance to the companies on the part of an arm of government supposed to have labor's interests at heart, as the department of commerce cherishes those of business. "This announcement," said Sullivan, "encouraged the companies to entertain the false hope that they can operate without union agreements. They have cancelled several negotiation meetings while negotiations were actually in progress."

A less determined organization would have caved in quickly before the menace of government reprisals, but the C.S.U., feeling morally justified, went ahead and struck—not on the initiative of its executive, but with authority from membership meetings all over the Great Lakes. As Sullivan remarked, "The Industrial Disputes Act is not intended to compel workers to become employed on terms to which they have not agreed."

The companies, firmly refusing the closed-shop clause, made one patently false statement, that "the closed shop is not permitted on any vessel in any part of the world." Actually, the closed shop is in effect on United States, British and many other ships. The union was quite willing to settle for the "union ship," similar to the Newspaper Guild's "guild shop," which provides that, while preference is given to union members, any other may be hired, but must join the union within 30 days. Such a clause was actually submitted to the union by the Quebec and Ontario Transportation Co. before the confusion that resulted in the strike.

In claiming the right to share in the companies' increased earnings, the union cited figures from the last war to show that Canada Steamship Lines, for instance, rose from a \$59,932 loss in 1914 to profits of \$662,151, \$2,391,027, \$2,178,401 and \$2,324,098

in the four succeeding years. They also pointed out that grain freight rates had almost doubled last season, might go higher.

Briefly, the federal department of labor, after Hon. Norman McLarty had flown to Toronto, finally got the union to agree to discontinue the strike and choose a member for a conciliation board. The union chose J. L. Cohen, K. C., the companies chose Frank Wilkinson, K. C., and they agreed on Mr. Justice C. P. McTague. Two months' hearings resulted in seven companies agreeing to recognize the C.S.U. as "sole collective bargaining agency for all the unlicensed personnel" (all eligible seamen); preferential hiring of union men "in co-operation with the union;" an increase of \$2.50 a month for wheelmen and oilers, besides the \$7.50 granted everyone when the strike was called off; one additional deckhand on every ship operating in the St. Lawrence canals; transportation home for every seaman employed at least four months; recognition of ship's delegate (shop steward); right of authorized delegate to board ship on union business. A Maritime Adjustment Board was provided for, to settle future disagreements.

The companies fought the ship's delegate issue bitterly, and Paterson Steamships Ltd. even obtained letters from most of their captains, first mates and first engineers opposing the practice, which is a standard, elementary union usage. There was, however, a remarkable similarity in the tone of these letters, and the officers obviously knew what they were expected to say; and the bulk of "opinion" was rendered even less impressive by the fact that the organizations to which those officers belonged had wholeheartedly endorsed the practices of the C.S.U.

How it stands now (Aug. 16): Relations are reasonably friendly between the union and the signatory companies (Canada Steamship Lines Ltd.,* Tree Line Navigation Co. Ltd., Algoma Central Steamship Line, Upper Lakes and St. Lawrence Transportation Co. Ltd., Union Transit Co. Ltd., Quebec and Ontario Co. Ltd., North West Steamships Ltd.), and it is believed the companies have a better understanding of the function of a responsible union in the industry. Smaller firms representing about 35% of the industry still refuse to come to terms with the union, even through the conciliation board, but Paterson Steamships Ltd. has agreed to a government-conducted ballot among its employees to see if they favor the union.

"Pat" Sullivan, who was suddenly whisked away and locked up while he had been testifying before the board, and Secretary J. S. Chapman are

* Both C.S.L. and C.N.S. passenger boats operate under union contracts.

both interned under the "imprison without charge" Section 21 of the Defence of Canada Regulations. J. L. Cohen, the union's counsel, has applied for an appeal hearing of both cases, as provided at the discretion of the minister of justice.

The union, strengthened and heartened by the new contract, goes on organizing, more bent on increasing the security which unionization brings than on patting itself on the back for one of the most courageous stands any union has ever made. It still has plenty to work for: pay is still more than 35% below United States Great Lakes levels.

The Compassion of John Steinbeck

Samuel Levenson

JOHN STEINBECK has now written so much and so well that it is possible to regard him as a permanent figure on the literary horizon. We cannot, of course, tell what his new book on the Mexican peon will be like, but it is certainly possible at this time to draw general critical conclusions concerning his work.

Fortunately the themes, trends and emotions that constantly recur in his books are easily isolated. Few readers have failed to observe that the single emotion which dominates Steinbeck is compassion, a deep and abiding sympathy for the homeless, the hungry, the vagrant and the sick. He may sympathize with the love of a child for his pony, and with the bewildered desires of an idiot, but in the main he is concerned with the simple desires of simple people: of a man for a piece of farm land, of a mother to keep her family fed and united, of a boy to own an automobile or to become a radio expert. "Doc" Burton, Steinbeck's spokesman in one of his first successful books, *In Dubious Battle*, describes the compassion that fills him as clearly as it can be done:

"I believe in men . . . I just believe they're men and not animals. Maybe if I went into a kennel and the dogs were hungry and sick and dirty, and maybe if I could help those dogs, I would. Wouldn't be their fault if they were that way. You couldn't say 'Those dogs are that way because they haven't any ambition. They don't save their bones. Dogs are always that way.' No, you'd try to clean them up and feed them. I guess that's the way it is with me."

But there is one human emotion with which Steinbeck sympathizes most. It is loneliness. A man must have someone or something to love, Steinbeck constantly points out, whether it be a woman, a dog, or a half-wit. From "Doc" Burton to the one-eyed man in the wrecking yard, who,

after pouring out his grief to the Joads, "felt his way to the mattress on the floor, and he stretched out and cried in his bed, and the cars whizzing by on the highway only strengthened the walls of his loneliness," the theme constantly recurs. It is the companionship between George and Lenny; in *Of Mice and Men*, which initiates their search for security and lightens their burdens. The most pitiful character in the book is the Negro cook, precisely because he is without friends, without even the companionship of a dog. In every person there is a store of affection which must be expended, the author feels; and his sympathy with that need fills *Of Mice and Men* with a tenderness all the more moving because it is implicit. Incidentally I consider it his best book, comparable with such works as *The Scarlet Letter* and *Ethan Frome*.

It is easy to understand why Steinbeck, once aware of the distress of great groups of society, should have developed an interest in socialism. *In Dubious Battle* concerns mainly the attempt of two communists to organize the apple pickers of Torgas Valley. It deals more concretely, therefore, with certain aspects of proletarian life than any of his later books. Steinbeck sympathizes wholeheartedly with the communists' attempts to organize the workers, but there are two aspects of the struggle which interest him particularly. One is the cruelty and violence deemed necessary by the communists to defeat the landowners. Burton tells Mac, one of the organizers, "You're the craziest mess of cruelty and *hausfrau* sentimentality, of clear vision and rose-colored glass I ever saw." To Jim, the other organizer, who argues that "All great things have violent beginnings," he retorts, "There aren't any beginnings nor any ends. It seems to me that man has engaged in a blind and fearful struggle out of a past he can't remember, into a future he can't foresee nor understand. And man has met and defeated every obstacle, every enemy except one. He cannot win over himself. How mankind hates itself."

The other idea that fascinated Steinbeck in his younger days was the difference between men as individuals and men in a mob. He liked to imagine that men in a mass acted like cells in a body, with the radicals or trade union leaders performing the special functions of "eye cells."

Both his interest in radical politics and in the "unpredictability" of mobs were largely immature concepts, and have apparently been discarded. While *The Grapes of Wrath* expresses his sympathy with the downtrodden on almost every page, his socialist ideas have resolved themselves into little more than a profound awareness of "three basic

facts": that when property accumulates in too few hands, it is taken away; when a majority of the people are hungry and cold, they will take by force what they need; repression works only to strengthen and knit the oppressed.

It may be argued that, in one respect at least, Steinbeck's books are not free of the defects of "proletarian literature." His characters do not ring entirely true. They are free of the prejudices and bigotries that afflict workers as well as plutocrats. True, they bear the physical stigmas of an unjust society—poverty, sickness, dirt and illiteracy; but the spiritual stigmas of almost all people in such a society—prejudice against Negroes, Jews and aliens—are unaccountably absent. That he fails to present this complete picture vitiates the accuracy of his drawings; it must be regarded as a failing even to himself, for if bigotries are not present to be cured, the eventual hope of socialism is made fallaciously easy.

This point, of course, can be labored too much. Steinbeck has qualities which can never put him in a class with Upton Sinclair. This defect, if such it is, injures his work only as a whole; it injures each book only a little, and *Of Mice and Men* it injures not at all, owing to the definite restrictions of his subject. It is only when you compare Steinbeck with a man like Gorki that it becomes clear that the latter plumbs psychological depths that Steinbeck has as yet left untouched.

But Steinbeck's gospel is best treated from a broader point of view. Political scientists tell us that the most enduring contribution of Christianity to our western civilization has not been its theology, dogma, or mysticism, but rather the idea that every man, no matter what his temporal station, had a chance in heaven equal to, if not greater than, that of the aristocrat and plutocrat. In the same way, Steinbeck represents what may be Karl Marx's most enduring contribution: the simple but flaming idea that every man is entitled to comfort and social security; that poverty is something that must be, and will be abolished. This fact, combined with Steinbeck's sympathy with the unfortunate, the dispossessed, and the lonely, becomes organically and movingly synthesized in passages like the following:

"I lost my land . . . I am alone and I am bewildered. And in the night one family camps in a ditch and another family pulls in and the tents come out. The two men squat on their hams and the women and children listen. Here is the node, you who hate change and fear revolution. Keep these two squatting men apart; make them hate, fear, suspect each other . . . For here 'I lost my land' is changed; a cell is split and from its splitting grows the thing you hate—'We lost our land.' The danger is here, for two men are not as lonely and perplexed as

one . . . This is the beginning—from 'I' to 'we.'"

Thus the companionship of men becomes both a spiritual and economic good. Thus loneliness and poverty are both overcome. The simple trade union formula, "In union there is strength," acquires connotations hitherto unsuspected.

This doctrine of a collectivist oversoul is stated more simply in the climax of *The Grapes of Wrath* when Tom Joad assures his mother that he will be found in every struggle for better conditions. Tom says, "A fella ain't got a soul of his own, but on'y a piece of a big one." And when people learn to work together "for our own thing—all farm our own lan'," then they will be able to "eat the stuff they raise an' live in the houses they build . . ."

Skeleton

Let me lie let me lie
without thought without dream
without mind in the sun
in the hot fireball sun
on the sand on the dune
by the sea's cobalt blue
let me sleep let the heat
of the hot sea-wet sand
warm my cold marrow-cold
polished bones.

DORIS FERNE

Sailor, Look To The Sky

Sailor! freedom calling yonder
crying wildly
dawning sweetly!
Saw you freedom ocean drifted?
Saw you birds of wildness proudly breasted?

Saw we days of endless greyness
icy rigging
swinging tackle
heartless vastness
empty oceans
men of labor!

DOROTHY TRAIL

Conscript

"Fight or we fire!" . . . Eyes irised forth
Dark hatred in the dawning of the moon
Whose frost-tipped arrows on the prison wall
Quivered a rigadon
Of death . . . The stripling poet smiled
As gunflame razed his body to the earth,
Riving the mortal fetters from a soul
Beauty conscripted at birth.

GORDON LECLAIRE

THE CANADIAN FORUM

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Confounding Federation

FEDERAL ILLUSION: D. N. Pritt; S. J. Reginald Saunders (Muller); pp. 152; 85 cents.

A LASTING PEACE: Maxwell Garnett and H. F. Koeppler; Nelson (Allen and Unwin); pp. 288; \$2.50.

MR. PRITT'S BOOK is a vigorous denunciation of plans for a world or European federal union as mere day-dreaming. He objects to the emphasis put on arbitration, which he regards as rules of war-etiquette rather than of war-prevention. He does not believe that the solution can be found in mere surrender of sovereignty; he accuses the federationists (and in particular W. B. Curry in his Penguin Special, 'The Case for Federal Union') of ignoring economic factors. The causes of war are purely economic: there can be no peace without socialism and socialism must bring peace because when the state controls production and distribution "there is no need to fight for markets, you are your own market."

There is a good deal of truth in Mr. Pritt's strictures. Discussions on international affairs which ignore the economic struggle are as hollow as empty egg-shells, there is no meat in them. Still, eggs do need a shell. Not even the League Covenant ignored economic factors entirely. It is a pity that Mr. Pritt's inclination for 'doing the Kremlin walk' leads him to regard socialism as merely state control of production, distribution and finance. It is much more than that, for it requires freedom. Besides, a socialized Canadian economy would still have to find external markets for wheat, and if it was socialized merely in Mr. Pritt's (and the Kremlin's) sense, it might still, if strong enough, fight for them.

To regard wars as due to economic rivalries between groups of capitalists in the various countries is not only wild over-simplification, it ignores the fact that these groups are drawn on national, not economic, lines. Rivalries that are both national and economic must be dealt with under both aspects. If federationists tend to confine themselves to the national-political, Mr. Pritt is no more thorough when he refuses to recognise any cause that is not economic. Controversial intransigence is his worst enemy; which is a pity, for a good deal of what he says is very true — his criticisms of British ruling class policies these last ten years, for example. If democracy is to survive, the people must be made to see not only the immediate follies of their leaders, but to see them in perspective of the general road that must be followed. Mr. Pritt brilliantly illuminates the immediate follies, but it is always against a background of fog which he quite fails to penetrate.

Mr. Garnett, in 'A Lasting Peace', is also critical of federal unions, but more constructively. He also does much more. The first part of his book is the story of the League's growth and failure. The story has been often told; this version of it is balanced and competent, if somewhat pedestrian. The general lines of his plans for the future are carefully and adequately drawn: the limitations of armaments based on collective defence, conditions for peaceful change, colonies, social welfare, international air force. Some international order must clearly follow this war if European civilization is to survive at all, and Mr. Garnett is probably right that

inter-state organization has a better chance than federation.

By far the most interesting part of the book is the last seven chapters, which are written by Dr. H. F. Koeppler, a refugee from Nazism. They deal specifically with the question of how Germany is to be treated after the fall of Hitler. He agrees with other German writers that Prussia is the trouble, but he goes deeper than some who would split Germany in two. He distinguishes between the Prussians and their Junkers, of whom the Prussians themselves are the first unwilling and struggling victims. Dr. Koeppler fears, not without reason, that a war-weary world might well put those gentry back in the seats of power. This he considers would be a ghastly error, for they are an older and more deep-seated curse than Hitler himself, who owes his power to them. This last part of the book I very heartily recommend. G. M. A. GRUBE

Continentalism

THE MINGLING OF THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLES, VOLUME I — HISTORICAL: Marcus Lee Hansen; Toronto, Ryerson; pp. 274; \$3.00.

THIS IS ANOTHER VOLUME in the Carnegie Endowment series of publications on the relations of Canada and the United States. It comes at a most opportune time, just when our government by forming a joint committee with the United States for defense has at last officially admitted that we are a North American people. The late Professor Hansen of the University of Illinois has traced out the pattern in which the peoples of what are now Canada and the United States have intermingled with one another since the days when English and French colonies were first established along the Atlantic seaboard. He died before he had completed his work; and a Canadian, Professor Bartlet Brebner of Columbia, prepared the book for publication. I do not know which of the two was mainly responsible for the very attractive style in which the book is written, but certainly here is a volume that can be heartily recommended to the intelligent layman as well as to the historical specialist for whom most of the volumes in the Carnegie series seem to be intended.

Professor Hansen's thesis is that the Canadian and American advance from the Atlantic to the west consists not of two parallel movements, as we usually think, but of one integral movement. "The combined population of the United States and Canada has always presented a picture of one body of North Americans making the best living they could from what the whole continent offered at any one time. Canada's population represented her share of the total in terms of the profitable economic opportunity which she could provide." Especially interesting to Canadian readers are the chapters on the movement of New Englanders into Nova Scotia, on the effects of the Civil War upon population movements, on the long continued drift of the French Canadians southwards, and on the gigantic wave of American immigration into the last great west, the Canadian prairies. Most of these stories have been told before, but they are all linked together here as part of one great theme, and each is made more interesting and significant when we come to understand it as part of a whole.

The volume closes with notes of a new era in which

the post-war problem of unemployment and the new factor of governmental social services have brought to an end the long unhindered intermingling of two peoples to whom differences of political allegiance were not so important as the common economic opportunities provided by their common environment. In the coming generations the standard of living of the individual is going to depend increasingly upon governmental action financed by taxes—subsidies, bounties, controls, restrictions, which will determine the way in which he and his social group shall live. This will make political boundaries more important. Professor Hansen closed this volume by expressing a doubt whether the New England proverb that good fences make good neighbors was historically true as between the United States and Canada. For good or for bad we have begun to build fences in our day. FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Rustic Communism

JOY OF MAN'S DESIRING: Jean Giono; Macmillans; pp. 458; \$3.00.

THE PEASANT NOVELS of Jean Giono are already known through translation and through the movies, to a considerable English-speaking audience, which is likely to be confirmed and increased by this volume. Giono's theme and even his approach are by no means isolated phenomena in contemporary French literature, but their characteristic poetic quality recalls rather a minor genius of the late eighteenth century, Bernardin de St. Pierre. The author of *Paul et Virginie* has the same sensitive and intimate appreciation of natural beauty and grandeur, the same feeling for a simple rustic communism, the same lyric fervor, the same sketchy and anecdotal construction, the same absorbed and humorless solemnity; and both at their worst have the same soft silliness.

Giono is, however, in several respects, the more accomplished artist. St. Pierre had a wonderful eye for color, but of other sensuous qualities, particularly of odor and touch, Giono had a much more complex and subtle appreciation. He is less given to explicit moralizing, and his psychology, while hardly profound, is much less slap-dash. He is almost, but not quite, as fastidiously puritanical about the relations of the sexes. Indeed, at times, he almost suggests the higher-priced American women's magazines, though the French tradition seems to debar him from maintaining their gallant level of triumphant conjugality.

His great quality is the fresh sense of wonder with which he can look at common things and common actions. He attempts not so much to see the world in a grain of sand, but really to see the grain of sand in the world. Two couplets of William Blake might serve as motto for the book:

The wild deer wandering here and there
Keeps the human soul from care.

and

He who bends to himself a joy
Does the winged life destroy.

A vagrant acrobat, by introducing a wild stag into an isolated peasant community sunk in a sour stupor, delivers them from the mechanical compulsions of uncritical habit, and opens their eyes to the direct, deliberate, and coöperative pursuit of happiness. It would be grossly unfair, however, to suggest that Giono sees the hope for the world's happiness in a simple regression to primitive agricultural communism. What he gives us here is a dramatic representation of the unsealing of the eyes, the

spiritual rebirth, the becoming as little children, that must precede any hopeful attempt to organize the Kingdom of Heaven. It is quite clear that his vagabond is not "He that should come," but only a forerunner, who cannot complete the transformation, but must disappear when he has done his preliminary work. The real hope of the future lies rather in the vague figure of the farmer-scholar, whose view goes beyond the simple community to embrace mankind.

The translation seems to have aimed rather at accurate reproduction than at fluency. The resultant style has a certain quaint stiffness so well sustained that it becomes almost attractive.

L. A. MacKAY

Insanity of Greed

WORLD'S END: Upton Sinclair; The Macmillan Co., Toronto; pp. 740; \$3.50.

UPTON SINCLAIR, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union of California, Socialist candidate for Governor of California in 1936, and author of the famous E.P.I.C. (End Poverty in California) Plan, has as he says "written exclusively in the cause of human welfare." His first novel "The Jungle" was an exposé of the Chicago stockyards and in 1906 prompted the government investigation of the evils. Each of his novels has been responsible for exposing and remedying some aspect of social retrogression. In an astonishing number his books have descended upon the common reader. The average reader does not easily read economic tracts and pamphlets, but he will read Upton Sinclair, not realizing that there is a pamphleteer in the fictional woodpile.

"World's End," Sinclair's latest book, is a better-than-average story, much superior, as a novel, to "Co-op" or "Oil". But it is unlikely that even the most brilliant exposé of the munitions makers and their machinations would prove an effective argument for isolationism in the United States, or promote any widespread action against war. We are already too close to catastrophe.

The story of Lanny Budd, son of a munitions manufacturer, is the tragedy of a sensitive, artistic, young man in a mad, ruined world. Too young to go to war, he lives with his beautiful and socially ambitious mother at Juanles-Pins on the Côte d'Azur, and receives his education in the over-refined, artificial atmosphere of pre-war Europe. He is old enough, however, to note the disparities between the lives of his mother's friends and the squalid lives of the lower classes in England and Germany; whose misery is intensified by the business to which he is heir. Rather than to risk becoming the Zaharoff of America, he becomes an assistant of Professor Alston, one of the "experts" at Versailles. In the story of the "peace that was no peace," Sinclair does an excellent and painstaking job of reporting. Here, he gives his readers a heightened sense of the confusion in which the experts worked, and we get a glimpse of the conscientiously laid foundations for the present catastrophe, somewhat touched up for melodramatic effect.

In the argument between the anarchist and the capitalist, Sinclair's flash of prophetic vision gives us a sense of uneasiness about the ending of the present war. Perhaps it is the refusal of man to learn by painful plunges into a bitter pool that gives poignancy to these fateful words of the anarchist: "History has forewarned you . . . but you won't learn. The French Revolution told you that the days of divine right were over; but you've built

a new system exactly like the old one in its practical results—a blind squandering at the top, starvation and despair at the bottom, an insanity of greed ending in mass slaughter . . . ”

MARGUERITE WYKE

The Best People Speak

DEFENSE FOR AMERICA: edited with an introduction by William Allen White; Toronto, Macmillan; pp. 205; \$1.25.

THIS IS A SERIES of essays by eminent members of the committee which was formed some time ago under the chairmanship of William Allen White to stir up the American people in favor of helping the allies. The contributors include the presidents of Harvard and Yale and the ex-principal of McGill, as well as other leading citizens. The best contribution is from the president of the United States whose fireside talk and messages to Congress of last May are reprinted. The other contributors have a good deal to say about the spiritual quality of American liberty and democracy but are very vague as to what liberty and democracy mean concretely. It is evident that a good many of them (especially Mr. Lewis Douglas) are mainly concerned with the freedom to buy and sell without governmental regulation; only one or two of them (notably Rabbi Stephen Wise) seem conscious that democracy is something dynamic, something that is still being realised in America. What most of them really are defending is the status quo, a way of life which is certainly satisfactory to the comfortable classes along the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards, though surely the editor of the *Emporia Gazette* must know that it is not such a gentle and kindly form of civilization as he makes it out to be in his introduction. It is President Roosevelt who says that there must be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the social gains which have been made in recent years, that the offensive against social and economic inequalities must continue to be carried on, that collective bargaining must be enforced, that labor will be represented in the directing groups at Washington who make the defense program. Perhaps the other contributors are all agreed with the President that these things must now be considered part of the status quo in America which is to be defended. But I doubt if anyone reading the volume would get the impression that they are so agreed. F. H. U.

Ten Unhappy Years

THE SUN NEVER SETS: Malcom Muggeridge; Macmillans (Random House); pp. 393; \$3.50.

“AS STALE AS YESTERDAY’S NEWSPAPER” is a common saying and a book that has all the appearances of being a compendium of the British press for the past ten years threatens to be a formidable piece of reading. So it is more than a pleasant surprise to find “The Sun Never Sets” to be a fascinating and entertaining book. If all history could be presented in such a manner!

Not that Mr. Muggeridge is profound nor concerned with the currents and direction of social and economic change. But in his panoramic and fast-moving scenario of England in the 1930’s the story is there that all may see. He deals with personalities: politicians from MacDonald to Chamberlain, press lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere, writers Shaw, Coward and T. E. Lawrence and a host of others — describing their brief hour of strutting on the

stage, the events in which they were involved, pricking their foibles and conceit with an acid-dipped pen.

One could be critical of some of the things Mr. Muggeridge has to say but it is hardly the sort of book to approach too critically. You get the impression that the author wrote it to get a lot of things off his chest, and this he did in first-rate fashion. No doubt he got a great deal of satisfaction from seeing it in print; those of us who have watched Britain’s course this past decade with something of alarm and dismay will similarly enjoy the book. It is too bad that the title, dust jacket and blurb give the impression of “another dull history.” Otherwise it would have a larger sale.

JOHN A. DEWAR

Robin Hood

THE LAST OF THE BANDIT RIDERS: Matt Warner and Murray E. King; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 337; \$3.00.

THIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY of an outlaw deals with the old days when the West was wild, when men rode hard and shot quick and straight. It is the story of a famous highriding bandit in the American West of the eighties, and it has all the racy fascination of the old type of Wild West movie, with the added advantage of being all true, though probably not the whole truth.

William E. Christiansen, alias Matt Warner or Ras Lewis, ran away from home in 1878 at the age of 14, to become a cowboy and then one of the most notorious bandits of that turbulent period. He was first brought to justice in 1894 and bribed his way to freedom; it was only in 1896 that he was finally condemned — for a shooting in self-defence.

The book covers those sixteen odd years and is packed with every kind of violent thrill: cattle rustling and cattle stealing, hold-ups and bank robberies, weeks and months of flight on horseback from officers of the law all over the wide open spaces. This old-time outlaw was no sneaking gangster, but rather a true descendant of Robin Hood, the highwayman type with no conscience but much courage, also much loyalty and generosity. This type no longer exists, and the publishers may well be congratulated on preserving the exciting record of the life of one of the best.

Incidentally, the moral of the story should satisfy the most exacting: a sensible prison warder, backed by a humane governor of Utah, made a good citizen out of the bandit, and he remained it for 38 years, serving his little community as deputy-sheriff, justice of the peace, detective and night policeman, till he died in 1938, at the age of 71.

G. M. A. GRUBE

Doctor’s Story

IN SEARCH OF COMPLICATIONS: A doctor’s autobiography; Eugene de Savitsch; Simon & Schuster-Musson; pp. 396; \$4.00.

SO MANY DOCTORS have written their own stories in recent years that the reason Dr. de Savitsch’s autobiography is not as absorbing as the record of his life might lead you to expect is possibly because of this competition. Certainly a man who fled the Russian Revolution as a boy, finished his schooling in Japan, returned to Russia to fight with the White army, emigrated to the States, worked his way through medical school, went to the Belgian Congo, studied in Europe, should provide lively enough reading. And certainly his

liberal philosophy and neat if not subtle humour is the proper background for this sort of material. Nevertheless *In Search Of Complications* somehow lacks spontaneity and novelty. Each story he tells, whether of his adventures or of his practice, is a little flat, a little inconclusive. As an example his account of his short period with the Whites in Siberia leaves the reader curiously dissatisfied, already familiar with what de Savitsch has to tell but aware that had he cared to the author could have been far more informative. This impression remains throughout the book. Again for all his experiences, all his tolerance, he seems to have no profound convictions about anything, no analysis to make of society, no conclusions to draw from his work. This is not meant to imply, of course, that no professional man should write unless he has some profound philosophy to expound. But if he hasn't, he at least owes that section of the public who can afford \$4.00 books more amusement and information than can be found in Dr. de Savitsch's story of his life.

J. E. JAMES

Dust Bowl

AN EMPIRE OF DUST: Lawrence Svobida; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 203; \$3.50.

A CHAIN OF UNRELIEVED MISFORTUNES set down in bald, unemotional narrative is bound to become boring. I followed this wheat-farmer and his tractor for ten years "somewhere in the Dust Bowl." During this time he planted at least 15 crops and reaped only one good harvest. That year the price of wheat hit the bottom — 25 to 35 cents a bushel — so that he barely made expenses. As for the rest, one year a hail-storm, the next a drouth, then a terrific blast of hot wind that burnt the grain, red rust, gales, and in the later years dust-storms took off his crops one by one.

Unless you are interested in the causes and effects of the Dust Bowl tragedy, and in the methods used to combat it — ineffective as they are — don't read the book. If you are you will find it well worth while. It contains, moreover, excellent photographs, which in themselves tell the sad story to good effect.

GWENDOLYN PEMBERTON

Long Live The Phoenix

PARIS FRANCE: Gertrude Stein; Scribners; pp. 120; \$1.75.

WELL, the Third Republic fell before the Fourth Reich but this 'love letter to the french people' can double as no obituary. It says oh so neatly, so affectionately, with such gracefully calculated repetition, what all wise and tolerant men have thought of France since they first learnt to conjugate 'vivre'. It recounts to our ever-admiring and receptive ears the lovely, laconic virtues of these sensible people. Though its publication was fatefully coincident with the entry of the Germans into Paris, Gertrude Stein's homage to her compatriots by adoption is paid with a degree of confidence and logic that should reassure the most disheartened Francophile. Paris France convinces us, then, that any change in the peculiarly resilient texture of French living and thinking is close to impossible; but convinces us the more easily because that is what we want to believe. What remains unanswered is the dreadful ex-

tension of the argument which the author could not foresee. Can the French people survive unchanged? Can reason and moderation and respect for the individual survive hunger and indignity and suspicion? The answer, I suppose, lies in the duration of the war. Two alternatives resolve themselves out of reading this book: that France may seek a Socratic martyrdom, or that she may in bitterness change to such an extent that to our children the humanist connotations of the words Paris and France and the French may be purely antique. A third possibility that she may survive unimpaired in culture and sensibility would be condemned by the realist as wishful thinking.

Paris France well repays those who have struggled with Gertrude Stein in her attempt to revitalize the English language. Her prose has a fresh simplicity that gives one the feeling of hearing as well as reading. Paris France is almost devoid of mannerisms, yet it has an oblique individuality that reflects a highly trained, acutely sensitive intelligence.

ELEANOR GODFREY

BRIDGET ELIA: Ernest C. Ross; University of Oklahoma Press; pp. 232; \$2.50.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY is to clarify the relationship of Mary Lamb to her brother, Charles; to revalue her own talents independently of his and to correct an impression that with her recurrent madness she was a lifelong burden to him. To do this, says the author in the preface, " . . . I have tried to build a chain of circumstantial evidence by marshaling the knowable facts in their chronological order, but without pleading a cause." In consequence Bridget Elia amounts to little more than a long and rather dry synthesis. But accepting this as Mr. Ross's intention it should be pointed out to him that the stereotyped phrasing he employs is not a necessary concomitant of such a method. The book is all the more disappointing because from Mr. Ross's truly commendable collection of data there emerge glimpses of a strong and forceful woman a definitive study of whom would have been a genuine addition to our knowledge of minor English writers.

ELEANOR GODFREY

Correction: In Grace MacInnis' article "Crisis In The Youth Congress" the Y.W.C.A. of Montreal should have been listed among those organizations which severed connection at the conclusion of the recent congress rather than as having withdrawn prior to it.



From What Dark Roots: Francine Findley; Harpers; pp. 292; \$2.50.

For all its pretensions this novel is strictly run-of-the-mill. Some twenty-five years before the Civil war a young southerner, sickened with slavery, marries a northerner and buys an estate in the wilds of New York where he intends to create a small Utopia and raise a family of John Ruskin socialists. He overcomes the recalcitrance of nature and of his wife only to find that his children for no apparent cause desert him upon reaching maturity. Neither the characters nor the situations are very convincing and the author has a bad habit of starting a number of hares, probably deriving from the search for material, without even making the most cursory attempt to follow them.

Good Neighbors: Lawrence J. Burpee; Ryerson; pp. 30; 25c.

This new pamphlet of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs series is very topical now that we have a joint American-Canadian defence board, for it is a record of the peaceful achievements in coöperation and the avoidance of friction by another joint body which has been sitting quietly for thirty years. The International Joint Commission is here described, both in its powers and its record, dealing mainly with questions of the use or diversion of boundary waters, on which it sits as final court. Here also Canada has as many representatives as the United States—a record of equality between a great power and a small neighbor that would be hard to equal.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Canadians In and Out of Work: Leonard C. Marsh; Oxford (McGill Social Research volume 9); pp. 503; \$3.00.

British Commonwealth Air Training Scheme: J. Fergus Grant; offprint Canadian Geographical Journal; pp. 28.

Good Neighbors: Lawrence J. Burpee; Ryerson (Contemporary Affairs Pamph.); pp. 30; 25c.

Report on America: Robert Waithman; Saunders (Muller); pp. 384; \$4.

The Unquiet Field: Beatrice Kean Seymour; Macmillans; pp. 506; \$2.75.

Three Weeks War in Poland: Clare Hollingworth; Nelson (Duckworth); pp. 180; \$2.

Ordeal of Bridget Elia: Ernest C. Cross; U of Oklahoma Press; pp. 232; \$2.50 (U.S.).

United States Policy Toward China: Paul Hibbert Clyde; Duke University Press; pp. 321; \$3.50.

Dynamics of War and Revolution: Lawrence Dennis; Weekly Foreign Letter; pp. 259; \$3 (U.S.).

Lava: Irene H. Moody; Macmillans; pp. 96; \$2.

Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: C. A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge; Macmillans; pp. 338; \$4.50.

The Boy's Book of Canada: Denis Crane; Wells Gardner (Mussion); pp. 301; \$1.50.

Civilization and Liberty: Ramsay Muir; Cape; pp. 288; 85c.

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